QUAID-E-AZAM

AS SEEN BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES



COMPILED BY

JAMIL-UD-DIN AHMAD

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Dedication

The hallowed memory of the QUAID-I-AZAM and all his loyal followers who steadfastly stood by him and, by their hard work, suffering and sacrifice, helped him bring Pakistan into being.

Acknowledgements

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Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani—I Remember, The Land that Quaid Dreamed of, "Quit India" Movement and Quaid-i-Azam; *Mian Bashir Ahmad*—The Quaid-i-Azam: Some Glimpses of His Greatness; *Syed Husain Imam*—Quaid's Sterling Qualities; *Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan*—The Commander I Served Under; *Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman*—The Quaid-i-Azam as I saw him; *Mr. Hatim A. Alavi*—The Leader I Knew Best, The Mystic Force that Created Pakistan; *Mr. Altaf Husain*—Memories of the Quaid-i-Azam; *Mian Abdul Aziz*—Muslim First and Anything Else Afterwards; *Malik Feroze Khan Noon*—Quaid Achieved Pakistan in the Pace of British Antipathy; *Mr. Ahmed E.H. Jaffer*—Precious Moments with the Quaid-i-Azam; *Mr. Hasan A. Sheikh*—The Quaid-i-Azam as a Democrat; *Begum Shah Nawaz*—Reminiscences; *Begum Bashir Ahmad*—The Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women; *Begum Shaista Ikramullah*—The Quaid-i-Azam as I knew him; *Mr. M.H. Saiyed*—The Quaid-i-Azam as a Friend; *Mr. G. Allana*—I Prefer Defeat to Dishonesty; *Mian Mohammad Shafi*—Quaid Wanted to be Judged on Merits, The Historic League Session, Quaid's First Visit to Badshahi Mosque; *Mr. Z.A. Suleri*—Some Reminiscences; *Mr. Rais Ahmad Jafri*—The Quaid-i-Azam and Maulana Shaukat Ali; *Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada*—Judicial Verdict on Jinnah; *Mr. S.M. Yusuf*—The Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General; *Mr. Farrukh Amin*—The Last Days of the Quaid-i-Azam; *Ganesh & Co. Madras*—Mohammad Ali Jinnah by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu; *Dewan Chaman Lal*—The Quaid-i-Azam as I knew him; *Mr. Frank Moraes*—The Voice of India; *Mr. Beverely Nichols*—An Eastern Genius Dressed by Saville Row; *Mr. O.M. Greene*—He Towered Above All Rivals; *Dr. Kazi Saiduddin Ahmad*—The Quaid-i-Azam was Kind to Academicians; *Dr. Sayed Abid Ahmad Ali*—The Quaid-i-Azam and Aligarh.

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Preface

The emergence of Pakistan has been a unique phenomenon in modern times. Its cause, however, has suffered due to many lapses on our part one of which is failure to produce readable and authentic literature on the movement for the creation of Pakistan and on its Founding Father. For this the blame lies primarily with those who had the privilege of working with or for the Quaid-i-Azam.

The importance and value of keeping alive the memory of national heroes to the progress and advancement of a nation is well known. It is all the more important in the case of Pakistan. The formation of Pakistan, its stabilisation, the ideals it stands for are so closely linked up with the life, character and achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam that the study of his life will be of perennial interest and indispensable importance to the people of Pakistan. It is the duty of those who had the good fortune of being associated with him to record the impressions they formed of the great leader from different angles. This will enable our younger generation to familiarise themselves with the personality of the Father of the Nation and the ideals he stood for and also prevent the spread of erroneous impressions about him. It will further facilitate the task of the future historian in making a proper and just assessment of the illustrious and decisive role played by the Quaid-i-Azam in the march of human history.

There are two categories of great men—one who is expansive and has a weakness for publicity; the other who is consumed entirely by the passion for work and service, keeps his emotional life entirely in check and cares little for public exhibition of his qualities and achievements. The Quaid-i-Azam belonged to the

second category. He did not think aloud. He was not fussy or demonstrative. He was far above allowing any propaganda agents to publicise his personal traits and virtues. He had no use for the tantrums of exhibitionism frequently indulged in by seekers of popularity.

It was, indeed, the intensity of his passionate concern for the misery and degradation of his people which led him, towards the evening of his life, when others seek comfort and repose, to throw the gauntlet to two powerful adversaries—British imperialism and Congress chauvinism—in order to liberate his people from their stranglehold. His concern for them found expression in solid, selfless service. He did not demonstrate it by striking a pose of piety or playing on the sentiments or superstitions of the people. His honesty was too transparent to allow of the adoption of any posture.

Such a leader runs the risk of creating the impression that he lacks the human feeling. The impression may or may not be true. In the case of the Quaid-i-Azam it certainly was not true. He was intensely human. But his humanity manifested itself in a sublimated form ; it was different from emotional effervescence which is what most people understand it to mean. To superficial observers the Quaid-i-Azam might seem an aristocrat removed from the life and aspirations of the people. The fact was otherwise. He was of the people and for the people. He carried in his heart their cares, sorrows, hopes and longings. Between him and them there was a mystical link. Had it not been so, he would not have succeeded in achieving for his people sovereign nationhood and founding an ideological State.

The uniqueness of the Quaid-i-Azam's achievement and historic role as a nation-builder is not yet fully appreciated. His task, indeed, was more difficult than that of other freedom-fighters. In modern times there have been several examples of outstanding calibre rescuing their people from degradation and enslavement. Their task, however, was comparatively easier, as their peoples already were free peoples. They had not altogether lost their spirit and fighting qualities and had only to struggle to retain their freedom. But in a subject sub-continent like India which had been under alien rule for about a hundred and fifty

years it was nothing short of a miracle to have raised a practically dead people to life, in fact to have created a unified nation out of a torpid mass of scattered, demoralised, depressed and dispirited people who had lost all sense of self-respect and self-consciousness. The Quaid-i-Azam found them in a state of frustration and sychophancy begging for safeguards as a minority; he raised them to the status of a nation claiming and winning its place in the sun, all within the space of a decade!

The fight for freedom usually is a simple issue—the struggle of a subject people to emancipate themselves from the yoke of a foreign ruling power. Such, indeed, was the struggle of the Hindu nation as waged by the Congress party of India. The Muslim nation under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership, on the other hand, had to fight on three fronts—the British, the Congress, the "quisling" Muslims. In addition, the Quaid-i-Azam also had to be careful about certain weak links in the chain his of own organisation. The difficulties and handicaps he had to labour under were formidable. He had to race against time and to make good, in the brief space of a decade, the deficiencies and drawbacks resulting from the inertia of half a century. He did not have at his disposal an abundance of the wherewithal of modern political warfare—press, trained and devoted workers, finance, propaganda machinery, etc.

By sheer force of determination and supreme effort the Quaid-i-Azam succeeded in arousing political consciousness of a high order among his followers and filling their hearts with his own burning passion for freedom and indomitable courage, and thus led them triumphantly to the attainment of their national goal. He was not the plaything of circumstances; he created his own circumstances. He had to face the implacable hostility of the Congress leadership which was understandable; he had to contend with the unsympathetic and unfair attitude of the British Government of the day whose partiality for the Hindu nation was undisguised; he also had to foil the vicious moves of the "quisling" Muslims who always played into the hands of enemies of Muslim freedom. The Congress fought for undivided India, i.e. Akhand Hindustan, which meant Hindu sovereignty and Muslim subjugation; it failed. The Quaid-i-Azam fought for division of India into

Pakistan and Hindustan which meant freedom for both the Hindu and the Muslim nations; he won.

Such being the personality and achievement of the Quaid-i-Azam, it is our duty to rescue from oblivion the impressions and reminiscences of his associates, colleagues and contemporaries. I have tried for some time to persuade the surviving associates of the Quaid-i-Azam to record their recollections and impressions of him. I have also endeavoured to collect, from different sources, material embodying impressionistic writings, appreciations and tributes concerning the Quaid-i-Azam left by his admirers and prominent figures of contemporary history—both Muslim and non-Muslim—who knew him or had opportunities of watching his career. I did not meet with as much success as could be desired. But whatever material I could collect after painstaking effort is collated and reproduced in this volume. Here will be found a profile of the Quaid-i-Azam viewed from different angles and from different situations by a cross-section of people—the highest and the humblest—statesmen, dignitaries, politicians, ministers, legislators, administrators, ladies, journalists, lawyers, intellectuals, officials, political workers, business and industrial magnates, etc.

It is, indeed, remarkable that men so different from one another as the writers of the articles in the volume should all be agreed on so many aspects of the Quaid-i-Azam's greatness. The picture that emerges from this compendious collection is that of a heroic figure remarkable for Islamic attributes of character—faith, wisdom and courage born of faith, determination, truthfulness, sincerity, honesty, integrity, tolerance, fairmindedness, subordination of individual interest to collective good, preference for moral ends over mundane considerations, firm adherence to principles. Besides, his great qualities of leadership, political acumen, foresight, negotiating skill, and vision combined with pragmatic approach to problems are also brought out. By his life he proved that true statemanship consists in gauging the real strength and potentialities of the people and achieving "the best possible" in the Bismarckian sense in the face of opposition.

This volume serves another important purpose: it dispels certain wrong notices about the Quaid-i-Azam spread by malicious critics. Some of these notions are that he was dictatorial by temper,

that he sought to force his views on others, that he was cold and even brusque. All his colleagues and co-workers and even acquaintances whose writings appear in this book are unanimous in testifying that the Quaid-i-Azam was thoroughly democratic in outlook, temper and method, that he never sought to impose his views on others, that he always patiently listened to the views and arguments of others and tried to convert them to his view-point through reasoning and argument and that his disposition was marked by courtesy, consideration, suavity, dignity and graciousness.

Another interesting point raised by certain writers and observers is whether Pakistan is a one-man achievement. Some have taken the view that the Quaid-i-Azam achieved Pakistan single-handed and but for him there would have been no Pakistan; others have differed from this view. From my observation and experience as a participant in the Pakistan Movement I can say that it would not be right to put this matter in the form of an over-simplified proposition. It cannot be denied that the leader of a movement needs the wholehearted and enthusiastic support of a people for achieving a goal. If such support were not forthcoming the Quaid obviously would not have succeeded in realising the ideal of Pakistan. At the same time it cannot be gainsaid that of all the Muslim leaders in the sub-continent the Quaid alone was successful in arousing real political consciousness of a high order among his people, unifying and rallying them on one platform and under one flag, giving them an inspiring and practicable ideal, winning their unqualified support and devotion and leading them with courage and determination to their goal. To create a political following ready to undergo suffering and sacrifice was itself the Quaid's achievement. Another important point to note is that the other Muslim League leaders did not have the courage and competence to stand up to the overwhelming pressure of hostile forces. There were occasions when they were known to have wavered, especially during the crucial tripartite negotiations of 1946 and installation of the Congress in power at the Centre. Left to themselves they would have compromised on terms which would not have ensured independent sovereign Pakistan. It was the

Quaid-i-Azam's invincible faith, courage and determination which ultimately clinched the issue in favour of sovereign Pakistan. Keeping these aspects of the matter in view, it can truly be said that Pakistan is the fruit of the Quaid-i-Azam's matchless leadership, and under any other leadership it would have remained a dream.

It now remains for me to perform the very pleasant duty of expressing heartfelt gratitude to several old associates of the Quaid-i-Azam who encouraged and helped me in my task. In this connection, I would make particular mention of Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani, Mian Bashir Ahmad, Syed Husain Imam, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman and Mr. Hatim A. Alavi, who, at my request, took the trouble of writing special articles on their impressions and recollections of the Quaid-i-Azam. To them I am deeply beholden. I am also very grateful to Mr. Ahmed E.H. Jaffer and Mr. G. Allana for kindly placing at my disposal the valuable material they possess and allowing me to make use of it. My cordial thanks are also due to writers of all other articles and appreciations included in the book.

Finally, I thank the Publishers for their co-operation and keen interest in bringing out this volume in an attractive form. I also wish to express my deep gratitude to my brother-in-law, Dr. Syed Abid Ahmad Ali, for his valuable help in bringing out this book.

I conclude with the fervent hope and prayer that this book, limited though its scope may be, will prove interesting und useful to the general readers, to the younger generation of Pakistanis and to historians and research workers.

JAMIL-UD-DIN AHMAD

Karachi
December 25, 1966.

PART ONE

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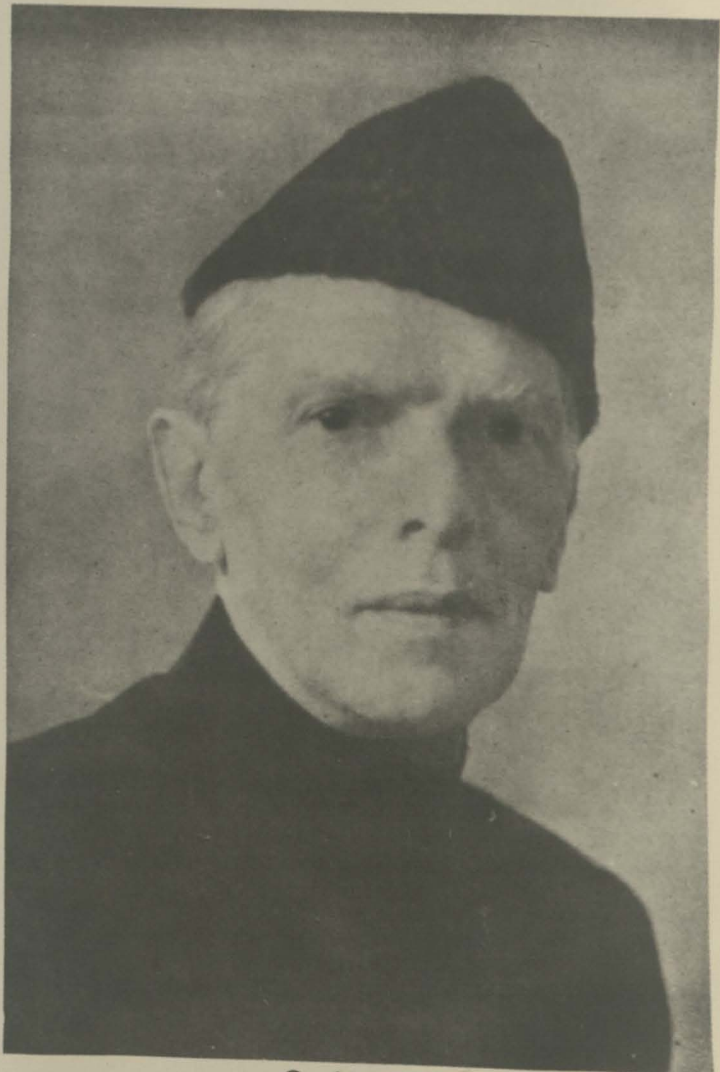
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JAMIL-UD-DIN AHMAD

Karachi,
December [illegible], 1966.



Quaid-e-Azam

I Remember

BY

M.A.H. ISPAHANI

[Mr. Ispahani studied Economics and Law at Cambridge University and was called to the Bar in England. A merchant and industrialist, he has been prominent in the political life of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent since 1932, having been a member of the Calcutta Corporation, Bengal Legislative Assembly and Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He was among the first few Muslim leaders who whole-heartedly responded to the Quaid-i-Azam's call for Muslim unity under the banner of the All-India Muslim League in 1936. He soon became a close associate and confidant of the Quaid-i-Azam and was member of the Working Committee from 1941 to 1947. He played an important part in building up the Muslim League organisation in Bengal in the face of heavy odds. After the establishment of Pakistan he was named its first Ambassador to the United States and headed its permanent Mission to the United Nations. Thereafter he was Pakistan's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom and then Minister of Commerce and Industries in the Government of Pakistan. Mr. Ispahani has travelled extensively and often contributes articles to newspapers and journals. He is the author of *27 Days in China* and *Leningrad to Samarkand* which were published after his visits to China and the Soviet Union in October 1959 and September 1961, respectively. His latest work is *The Quaid-i-Azam as I Knew Him*, a vivid account of his personal reminiscences and impressions of the Quaid-i-Azam.]

When grateful Pakistanis think of the Quaid-i-Azam they think of him as a man who was a great advocate and a man who matched his wits against the best of Hindu and British politicians and won for the Muslims of our sub-continent a homeland. Very rarely does one hear or read of the invaluable service he

has rendered to the Muslim Nation in other departments of life. For example, how many know of the leading and inspiring part he played in the creation of commercial and industrial institutions which are now taken for granted in our country? How many know that it was the Quaid-i-Azam's drive which brought into being several Muslim Chambers of Commerce in the subcontinent and also the Federation of Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry at New Delhi?

I was entrusted with the task of organising the Federation and had to work for about a year to get it started. Had it not been for the generous support, which included financial assistance, given by the late Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood and my elder brother, Mirza Ahmed Ispahani, the creation of the Federation and its existence would have been impossible. When the Federation held its first meeting at New Delhi, it planted just one more landmark on the road to Muslim awakening and this, as I have stated, was the result of the Quaid-i-Azam's imagination and guidance.

I remember also how the Orient Airways was founded. When I was in Delhi in June 1946 on one of my routine visits, and was lunching with the Quaid-i-Azam at his Aurangzeb Road home and discussing provincial and national politics, he suddenly cut me short and said: "It is very well to talk of Muslims as a nation and to demand a separate homeland for them, a homeland in which they could live according to their own lights and shape their own destiny, but you realise that such a state would be useless if we did not have the men, the material and the wherewithal to run it? Do you realise that in India there is not a single airline which is owned or operated by Muslims? You should know how many Muslim civil pilots and mechanics we have in the country? How can we do anything with this inadequacy of material—material every nation must have in large numbers?"

The Quaid-i-Azam was emphasising a fact. I replied that he was absolutely right. He stood up and with the characteristic gesture of his hand, which his disciples remember so well, said: "What is the use of admitting all this. Get up and do something about it."

I tried to argue with him that the starting of an airline was a tremendous undertaking, that it would cost a packet of money and it would have to face much opposition from vested interests, particularly Hindu, before the new company, owned, financed and operated by Muslims, as he envisaged, would be allowed to operate.

He replied to the effect that we should trust in God, have faith in our cause and go ahead. He, as a 'poor man' would purchase shares in the company to prove that he backed his idea with financial participation. He asked me to discuss the matter with Sir Adamjee and my brother in Calcutta and get busy with the task of registering an Airline.

When these two gentlemen were told that it was the Quaid-i-Azam's order that something should be done, they did not wait to think, and we set to work on the floatation of the Orient Airways. The Orient Airways was not only the first and sole Muslim airline operated in pre-Partition India but the first all-Muslim public liability undertaking of its kind in the commercial and industrial history of Muslim India. Shares were bought by Muslims in every corner of the sub-continent; some bought scrips for substantial amounts and there were others with limited means who were happy to have just one share worth Rs. 25 or Rs. 5. Poor as they were, they wanted to have the honour of participating in a Muslim undertaking which had the blessings and support of the Quaid-i-Azam.

After the Company was registered, permission was obtained with great difficulty to operate the Calcutta-Rangoon service. The Government of India Director-General of Civil Aviation, on one pretext or another, kept on delaying the consideration of our application, and even when our airline was ready to operate its service to Rangoon, we had to stand by and meet the establishment expenses of an airline for three months or more before approval was finally received from New Delhi.

The base of the Orient Airways was at Calcutta. Compared with its successor, the P.I.A. today, it was a modest undertaking at the start. It comprised, to begin with, three DC3's converted for passenger service in the United States. With partition, Orient Airways transferred its main base to Karachi and operated without a day's break in its services until it was amalgamated with P.I.A. It was the Orient Airways which rendered yeoman service during the disturbances which followed the partition of the sub-continent. It brought in refugees from Bharat and flew out Hindu refugees from Pakistan. Had it not been for the Orient Airways there would not have existed an air link between East and West Pakistan for a long time after partition. These great services the Company was privileged to render because it existed, and for its existence and for the subsequent development of our national airline in which we pride, we should bless the memory of the Quaid-i-Azam.

How many of us know that it was the Quaid-i-Azam who

encouraged and almost insisted upon the creation of another first class Muslim bank in the sub-continent? He would say: "We claim that we are a nation of 100 million strong and yet have not more than one bank (Habib Bank) out of the hundreds which operate in India." That was the true position. It was the Quaid-i-Azam's persistent drive and talks with the late Sir Adamjee Dawood and Mirza Ahmed Ispahani that got them moving, and the result was the creation of the Muslim Commercial Bank.

The Bank was incorporated in Calcutta on 9 July 1947 with an authorised capital of Rs. 3 crores. After partition, which followed soon after, the offices of the Bank were opened in the principal cities of Pakistan by the middle of 1948 with its registered office at Karachi. The amount called up and paid was Rs. 75,03,000 (and in those years, not like our present days, lacs were lacs and crores were really big money). Today the Muslim Commercial Bank boasts of deposits amounting to Rs. 63·00 crores as on 31st December 1965 and has 182 branches.

Then again, how many know that it was the Quaid-i-Azam's drive and inspiration which got the Habib brothers in Bombay moving and resulted in their floating the Muhammadi Steamship Co., which gave the Muslims an opportunity to create an army of workers in another essential and nation-building undertaking. The Habib brothers launched this enterprise and obtained the funds they needed for it at a time when Muslim capital was not fond of seeking investment in industry. The Quaid-i-Azam's name and his call for the building of the Muslim nation in all spheres of economic activity facilitated the task of the promoters of this company.

I can cite the cases of several other small industries which came into being because of Quaid-i-Azam's imagination and foresight, but, for this article, the few instances narrated above are sufficient.

It may be well to remember that it was Quaid-i-Azam's persuasion which brought many Muslim entrepreneurs from foreign lands to establish industries in Pakistan. Today they are settled and are reaping the benefits which have accrued to them in our own free land, and they are also making notable contribution to the building up of our economy. Those who had the privilege of knowing the Quaid-i-Azam will remember with gratitude what he often said: "Without economic progress, freedom is worth nothing, because one cannot turn freedom to full advantage." For us, these words were never more true than they are today.

The Land that Quaid Dreamed of

BY

M.A.H. ISPAHANI

Today while celebrating our greatest day, when we freed ourselves from the yoke of the British and saved ourselves from the disastrous effects of Hindu domination, we must not forget to pay ungrudging homage and tribute to the man under whose wise and undaunted leadership a hundred million Muslims carved a homeland for themselves.

Lut us also not minimise the misery of our brothers and sisters who are being continuously persecuted and driven out of India. We and our children must not forget either that Pakistan was created for the Muslims of the whole sub-continent largely through the sacrifice and efforts of the Muslims in the minority states and provinces of British India. May the souls of the martyrs rest in eternal peace and may their relations and descendants who live in or want to migrate to Pakistan enjoy the same privileges as others !

If we are to go by the concepts, precepts and teachings of the Quaid-i-Azam, then we must remember that the Quaid believed in going to the masses and deriving his strength from them. He was gifted with an uncanny vision. He could separate, in an instant, grain from chaff. He knew which of his followers, professing to be his humble disciples, were, in fact, mere opportunists and who were not. He believed in the freedom of the Press. He believed that elections had to be clean and so our politics.

I shall always remember an incident concerning myself which proved that the Quaid practised what he preached and meant what he said. Here is the story.

When I was seeking election to the Bengal Legislative Assembly from the Chamber of Commerce constituency of Calcutta in 1946 one candidate whose name I forgot filed his nomination papers. No amount of persuasion could influence him to

withdrawn. Eventually Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi got him to agree to withdraw his candidature on my paying him his security deposit of Rs. 250. With a firm offer in hand Mr. Siddiqi rushed to my house where the Quaid-i-Azam was staying and broke this news to us. Mr. Jinnah's reaction was electric. He was angry and without hesitation told Mr. Siddiqi to reject the offer as it amounted to bribery which, according to the moral standards of the Quaid, should not have any place in politics.

The Quaid told Mr. Siddiqi, "Go and tell nim that Hassan will fight him to the last irrespective of whether he succeeds or fails." This one little example showed how honest he was in his political life. Above all he believed in party loyalty and discipline.

On Capitalism, Socialism and Communism he had definite views. The Quaid envisaged the development of a socialist state in keeping with the tempo of the times as that mode of economy was nearest to the Muslim way of life. He did not subscribe to the view that a handful of citizens had the inherent right to exploit the many and fatten beyond human proportions on their misery. Here is what he said : "I visualise that Pakistan when it comes into being will be a democracy and hope that its major industries and public utilities will be socialised." But, are we moving in that direction ?

To illustrate Quaid-i-Azam's views on foreign relations I quote him : "We want friendship with all nations of the world and want no enmity with any." Our policy since the inception of Pakistan was based on this thinking. I can vouch for it without fear of contradiction by anyone alive, having been reasonably close to the Quaid and having been Pakistan's Ambassador to the world's richest country, U.S.A. We pursued an independent foreign policy even for a few years after the Quaid's death.

We should hold high the banner embodying the principles the Quaid-i-Azam upheld and do our bit to shape our lives in accordance with them It is then and only then that our strength as a people will fast increase and we shall have a happy and contented people who will defend their independence and national honour, when called upon, with the sacrifice of their lives. And, Pakistan will truly become the great country which the Quaid dreamed of and wanted it to be.

'Quit India' Movement and Quaid-i-Azam

BY

M.A.H. ISPAHANI

Our great leader, Quaid-i-Azam, was gifted with an uncanny foresight and power of anticipation. It was this blessing which helped him not only in his legal profession but also when he became the sole leader of the Muslims of India. An interesting event will illustrate this point.

We assembled in Bombay in August 1942 to consider the situation which had arisen out of the sudden arrest and incarceration of Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Indian National Congress Working Committee, following their decision to launch the 'Quit India' movement. The arrests were made a few days before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League. Soon after the arrests propaganda was set afoot by the highest Congress and Hindu quarters that this was an opportune moment for the Muslim League to join hands with the Congress to gain independence for the peoples of the sub-continent.

In an atmosphere of assurance by the prominent Congressites and Hindus who were out of jail that the Indian Congress meant to be fair and honest with the Muslims and to give them the type of independence which they were seeking, the Muslim League Working Committee met. Some prominent members held the firm view that this was the opportunity for us to join hands with Congress, that is, if we wanted to wrench freedom from the unwilling hands of the British. I was among them.

I reached Bombay on the eve of the Working Committee meeting scheduled for 16 August 1942 and remember my interview with the Quaid-i-Azam in which two of my close friends, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and Jamal Mian, the former

being my colleague on the Working Committee as well, participated. We expressed our views freely and frankly that in view of the atmosphere prevailing in the country we should not let slip the opportunity for gaining freedom from the British both for Hindus and Muslims.

It did not take long for us to realise that Mr. Jinnah did not agree with our view and in his usual cool and dispassionate fashion was sponsoring the idea that the interests of the Muslim nation called for a policy of avoiding both the British and Congress traps. He was in favour of a cautious and neutral position of not flirting with either and at the same time utilising the opportunity to infuse drive and teeth into the Muslim League Organisation which was still rather weak on its legs.

I remember the scene at the meeting of the Working Committee which was held the next evening in the spacious verandah of Quaid-i-Azam's beautiful residence on Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, facing the sea. Before a prominent member from Bengal had finished his speech in support of our views, he collapsed in his seat a convert to Mr. Jinnah's reasoning which was passed on to him in the form of interruptions from the chair. Some other gentlemen followed suit, a few with speeches and others in solemn silence. A prominent member, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, from the United Provinces, who shared our view before the commencement of the session, was within an hour or so totally converted to Quaid's viewpoint and he rushed to the verandah upstairs to draft a resolution which put forward the opinion, contrary to his earlier one, that the Muslim League should not join the battle against the British at this stage but get busy in organising itself and getting stronger. Before the resolution was put to the vote, there remained three who agreed to abstain but on the clear understanding with Mr. Jinnah that if things did not work out within three months as the President had forecast, they would, with much pain and regret, have to leave the Committee. They were Nawab Ismail Khan, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad and I. One member, G. M. Syed of Sind, refused to abstain when the resolution was put to vote. He cast his vote against the resolution. No amount of persuasion shook him from his resolve.

The Working Committee dispersed but the Raja and I delayed our departure from Bombay for two days. During this period, we met Mr. Jinnah often and discussed the resolution threadbare without being convinced that the step taken by the Working Committee on his advice was the right one ; but he persisted in his effort to convince us. He repeatedly told us as he

had told Nawab Ismail Khan: "Give me three months time, and if within that time I do not prove that I am right, I shall myself resign from the Presidentship of the Muslim League."

It was on a Sunday morning that the Raja and I called to say goodbye. The Quaid-i-Azam was in his study. He produced two articles, one written by Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan* and the other was a statement by Pandit Nehru which appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the same day—both written a few days before the arrest of the Congress leaders. These two articles proved that all the inspired talk which filled the air with the blessings of the Congress leaders outside prison and influential big Hindu businessmen had no meaning and was a clever trap to throw the Muslim League off balance and to involve it in trouble similar to the Congress's, which, due to the arrest and imprisonment of its top leaders, had become a ship that had lost its rudder and was caught in a storm in mid ocean.

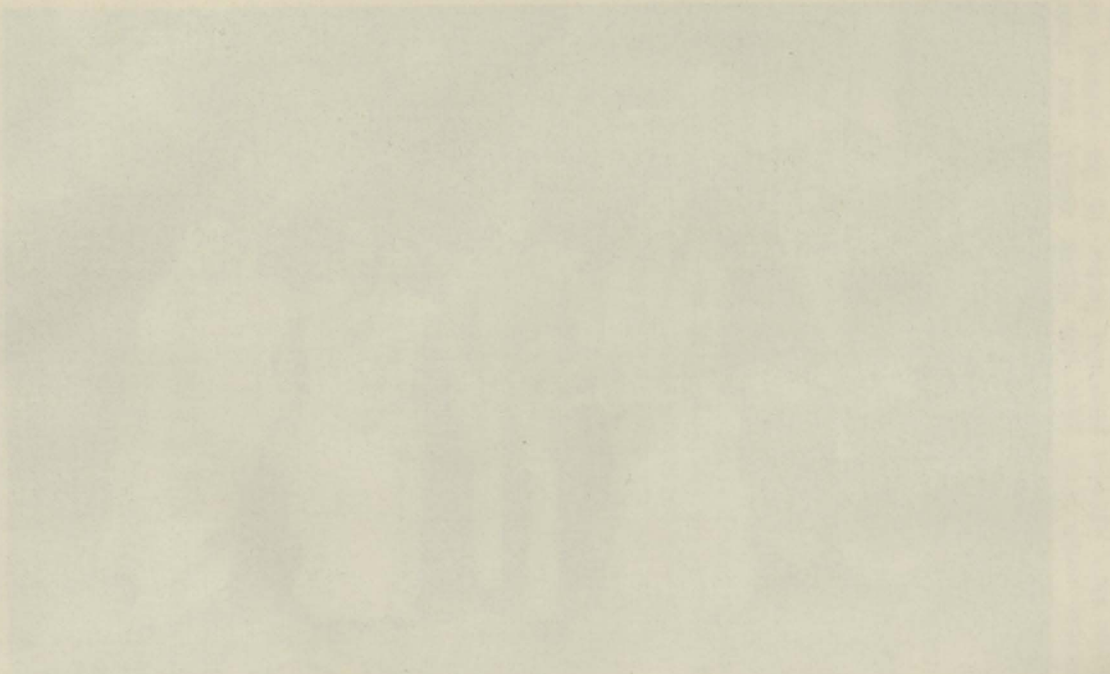
The articles showed clearly that the Hindu or Congress's attitude *vis-a-vis* the Muslims had not undergone any change, and Muslims, in their thinking, were to remain a mere minority and enjoy such rights as would be conceded to minorities in an all-India "democracy".

This interview converted us to the view of our great leader. We left satisfied and assured him that on our return to our respective provinces, we would spare no effort to prove to those who thought like us when we arrived to attend the meeting of the Working Cammittee, that they were wrong as we were and that the decision of the Muslim League Working Committee, which, in fact, in this case for sure was the decision of the Quaid-i-Azam, was the right one.

However, it did not take long to get enough proof from happenings around us that the decision taken under the sole guidance of our leader was the correct one. Had he not pleaded with the Working Committee to ignore the crafty approaches of the Congress and other Hindu leaders and utilise the opportunity afforded to organise and build up the Muslim League, the Muslim nation would have suffered a setback from which it would not have recovered in time to demand and obtain its freedom. The decision kept the High Command and other Muslim League leaders out of jail and enabled the Party to gain the strength which it did between then and 1946 and to emerge as the sole unquestioned and authoritative representative political party of the Muslim nation of the sub-continent.

It is a well-known fact that with the incarceration of the

leaders of Congress, the Party itself suffered a severe setback and was demoralised to such an extent that its activities were badly affected. That happened to an old, active, well-organised and powerful organisation. One can well imagine our fate had we joined hands with the Congress and were given the same treatment by the rulers of India as was accorded to it.



The Guest at Al-[illegible], residence of [illegible] Ahmed (L to R) Begum Abdul Aziz, Begum [illegible] Ahmed, The [illegible], Miss. Fatima Jinnah, [illegible] Begum.

Standing behind (L to R) Nawab [illegible] Husain Khan of Mamdot, [illegible]



The Quaid at Al-Manzar, residence of Mian Bashir Ahmad
(*L to R*) Begum Abdul Aziz, Begum Bashir Ahmed, The Quaid, Miss. Fatima Jinnah, Fatima Begum.
Standing behind (*L to R*) Nawab Iftikhar Hasain Khan of Mamdot, Mian Bashir Ahmad.

Quaid-i-Azam : Some Glimpses of his Greatness

BY

MIAN BASHIR AHMAD

[Mian Bashir Ahmad belongs to the well-known Baghbanpura family of Lahore. He took an Honours degree in History from Oxford University and was called to the Bar. He inherits a tradition of scholarship and literary taste from his distinguished father, the late Mr. Justice Shah Din, who, besides being a jurist, was also a well-known poet. In memory of his father Mian Bashir Ahmad brought out, edited and published an Urdu magazine *Humayun* which for over thirty years maintained a high standard of literary excellence and made a notable contribution to the growth and development of Urdu literature and journalism. His passionate devotion to the cause of Urdu which had become a vital factor in the struggle for Muslim freedom led him, in 1937, to join the All-India Muslim League at the instance of the Quaid-i-Azam. From then onwards he devoted his full energies and abilities to the building up of the Muslim League organisation which earned him the confidence of the Quaid-i-Azam, and he was appointed a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in 1942 which office he continued to hold till 1947. After the establishment of Pakistan he was Pakistan's Ambassador to Turkey from 1949 to 1951.]

To know a great man is difficult. To know him fully is extremely difficult, if not impossible. For a man is known by his actions, and even a great man does not always know what exactly he is going to do next. Unforeseen circumstances may arise, and his wisdom lies in adjustment to them.

However, great men generally think ahead, and their thoughts and ideas prove a powerful factor in the control of human events. Through such thoughts they can know their own selves and the course that events are likely to take.

Some people have talked of "Quaid-i-Azam as I knew him." I too have been asked to give some of my impressions of that great man.

In this connection I remember once, during the lifetime of the Quaid, talking at Karachi to a gentleman from Bombay, who had known him much longer than I had. I wanted to know what he knew of him. "Know him!", he exclaimed, "it is impossible to know him. He is like a rock. Who knows what is inside the rock?" A rock indeed he was, standing aloft in the Indian political sea of troubles, with high waves beating all around it. And seeing how he stood there cool and steadfast and determined, we thus come to know what he did and what he was.

I heard of Mr. Jinnah long before I actually came into contact with him personally. My first recollection of him was a mention of him in an item of news which I read out from *The Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore, to my ailing father, Justice Shah Din, during his last and serious illness at Dharampur in June 1918. So far as I remember, it described how in the Imperial Legislature at Simla Mr. Jinnah had openly and severely criticised Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, for his high-handed autocratic behaviour and oppression of the people. On hearing this, Mian Shah Din, as he lay exhausted in his bed, was visibly moved, his eyes shone forth and with a faint smile he remarked that he was extremely glad to find that someone at last had the moral courage to face and take a stand against the overbearing attitude of an arrogant ruler.

Two or three years later, in 1921, when the new Central Assembly sat at Simla and after Mr. Jinnah had been elected a member of it, I heard him for the first time speaking in the Assembly, and among thousands of other Indians heartily admired him for his forthright speeches and his fearless criticism of the Government of India and its henchmen.

My father-in-law, Sir Muhammad Shafi, was then a member of the Viceroy's Council, and I had an occasion to meet Mr. Jinnah for the first time at a lunch given by Sir Muhammad Shafi at his official residence 'Inverarm.' There I also saw Mrs. Ratti Jinnah sitting next to the host. In my mind, I made Mr. Jinnah my hero from those very days. I wrote my first short story in my Urdu magazine *Humayun* in December 1925, wherein the hero was an admirer of Mr. Jinnah, the true champion of Indian and Muslim rights and aspirations in the Central Assembly.

My first personal contact and exchange of views with Mr. Jinnah took place of Simla in June or July 1937. At a small lunch party of about twelve persons, given by my brother-in-law at Davico's, Mr. Jinnah asked me to see him the next day in his room at the Grand Hotel. There, when I met him he asked me as to what I was then doing. I told him that I was doing some literary work in Urdu, by running a monthly magazine *Humayun* and was thus trying to serve my community by preserving the Muslim traditions and disseminating the true values of life. He appreciated my work, but asked me to ponder whether the problem of Urdu was now merely a literary or an academic one. He convinced me that it was now really a political problem and that if as a result of the current differences and bitter relations between Hindus and Muslims, the Muslims were finally overpowered, they and their religion and culture and language will all be liquidated along with them. He appealed to me, therefore, to climb down from my ivory tower and come to Lucknow, join the deliberations of the All-India Muslim League and there particularly help the League in passing a resolution for strengthening the overall political position of the Urdu language in India. At my request, he also wrote to Baba-i-Urdu, Moulvi Abdul Haq, asking him to come to Lucknow, where in the 25th Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League (which started on 15 October 1937), a very strong and comprehensive resolution was passed with a view to reinforcing the position of Urdu in India.

The Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League proved a turning point in the history of the regeneration of Muslim India. As a result of the countrywide elections, the Congress had come into power in seven out of eleven provinces and declared, in the words of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, that there were now only two powers in India, the British Government and the Indian National Congress. Mr. Jinnah, the new dynamic Muslim leader, challenged this statement from the platform of the League and warned the Congressites and Hindus that there was also a third power to be reckoned with and that was the All-India Muslim League. The Muslims from all over the country flocked to Lucknow, and rallied round the banner of the League which, henceforth, became for the first time a truly representative organisation of Muslim India. The effect on the Muslims was electric, and even a literary man like me joined the Muslim League. I came back to Lahore and was appointed Joint-Secretary of the Punjab Muslim League, of which Allama Iqbal was then the President.

Two years later, on the persuasion of Nawab Shah Nawaz

Khan of Mamdot, I undertook to work as the Secretary of the League Reception Committee, which organised the very important 27th Session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore, at which the PAKISTAN RESOLUTION was passed on 24 March 1940. The said Session could not be held without some ominous difficulties. While the preparations for holding the League Session were going on, the Khaksar leader, Allama Mashriqi, driven by his sincere but mistaken ambition to become the leader of Muslim India, took undue advantage of the politicul situation in the Punjab. The Unionist Government had at this time, purposely and autocratically, banned all semi-military communal organisations, including the Khaksars The Khaksar leader defied the ban and ordered his followers to march through the bazaars of Lahore with their *belchas*, on which a bloody clash occurred on 19 Mareh between them and the armed police, whose high-handedness and brutality resulted in several Khaksar casualties. As a consequence, the Muslim public became highly excited, and the Punjab Government, headed by Sir Sikander Hayat Khan as the Premier, wanted the Muslim League Session to be indefinitely postponed. Nawab Mamdot and I were called to the Secretariat to face the Punjab Cabinet, which for two hours put tremendous pressure on us to make us agree to their nefarious design. We suggested that the whole matter might be referred to the Quaid-i-Azam at Delhi on the telephone. When the telephone call came, Sir Sikander, wisely seeing the trend of public opinion, told the Quaid that he and the League organisers had, despite the obviously uncertain political situation, decided that the Session of the League should be held according to schedule, and that a befitting reception should be given at the Lahore Railway Station to him as the President-elect of the coming Session. Politics is a tricky game, and it is interesting to watch how the skilful politicians play it. On more than one occasion, Sir Sikander, unlike his successors, bowed down before the will of the Quaid-i-Azam at the last moment, thus recognising the undisputed popularity of the great Muslim leader.

The Lahore Session began with my poem:

ملت کا پاسباں ہے محمد علی جناح
ملت ہے جسم جاں ہے محمد علی جناح
رکھتا ہے دل میں تاب و تواں نو کروڑ کی
کہنے کو ناتواں ہے محمد علی جناح
اے قوم اپنے قائد اعظم کی قدر کر
اسلام کا نشاں ہے محمد علی جناح

[The Sentinel of the Millat is Muhammad Ali Jinnah,
The Millat is the body, its soul is Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
He, in his heart, has the strength of nine crores,
Though apparently of a slender frame is Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
Perceive, O Nation ! the greatness of your Quaid-i-Azam ;
For the standard-bearer of Islam is Muhammad Ali Jinnah.]

At this momentous Session the Pakistan Resolution clearly and unmistakably pointed out to the scattered Muslims of India the direction and the highway which was to lead them on to their goal as an independent and self-respecting nation.

For some time the Quaid insisted on calling the said Resolution as the Lahore Resolution of the League, but when the Hindu Press in turn insinuated and persisted in calling it the Resolution for Pakistan, the Quaid soon accepted their challenge and henceforward proudly called it the Pakistan Resolution.

The Punjab Unionist Party had joined the Muslim League in 1937 with many verbal and mental reservations as is apparent from a perusal of *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah* (May 1936 to November 1937) published later under the direction of the Quaid-i-Azam.

The Quaid-i-Azam wrote to me from Bombay on 28 January 1943 that "as these letters have become of great historical importance . . . could you kindly arrange at Lahore to secure my replies to Iqbal ?" On 15 February 1943, referring to Allama Iqbal's letters to him and his replies to Iqbal, he wrote to me that "the publication of this whole correspondence may render great service to our people and the cause for which we stand." On this I replied to him on 24 February 1943 that Chaudhri Muhammad Husain, a trustee of Allama's property and assets, could not trace the letters wanted by the Quaid and that, therefore, I would suggest that he should publish Iqbal's letters to him with or without his comments as desired. On this the Quaid wrote in his published "Foreword" : "It is however much to be regretted that my own replies to Iqbal are not available."

In the "Foreword" the Quaid wrote further as follows: "It was a great achievement for the Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation . . . . His views were substantially in consonance with my own . . . . In one of these letters Iqbal wrote to the Quaid on 28 May 1937 : "For Islam the acceptance of social democracy

, . . is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems, therefore, are more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. . . . In order to make it possible . . . it is necessary to re-distribute the country . . . . Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrived ? . . ." On 11 August 1937 he wrote : "The enthusiasm for the League is rapidly increasing in the Punjab and I have no doubt that the holding of the Session in Lahore will be a turning point in the history of the League and an important step towards mass contact." On 10 November 1937, Iqbal wrote: "Sir Sikander wants nothing less than the complete control of the League . . . . All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. . . . I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikander and his friends."

Allama Iqbal died at Lahore in April 1938. In March 1940 the Pakistan Session of the League was held here. The Unionist tactics to capture or make the League ineffective continued, however, even after the passing of the Pakistan Resolution.

On 10 October 1940 the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to me, "Thank you for your giving me the assurance that in future you will keep in touch with me." So in my letter dated 20 February 1941 I wrote to him that I much regretted that the Punjab Unionist Muslims had not proved helpful to the League and informed him that some sincere, enthusiastic Muslim students had seen and consulted me about the holding of a Pakistan Conference by them at Lahore under the Presidentship of the Quaid-i-Azam in order to defeat the Unionist game and clear the way for the League work among the Punjab Muslim masses.

A students' deputation went to see the Quaid who came and presided over a large public meeting organised by the students and held in the Islamia College grounds, Lahore, on 1 March 1941. The Quaid started his address with these memorable words, which still ring in my ears : "Gentlemen, today it is the first of March, let us march on." The next day when a group of students went to see him at the Nedous Hotel, he called me and asked me to act and work as the President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation. This I did for one year, after which I wrote to him requesting him to relieve me of this useful but rather arduous task, which I had persuaded Mr. Hamid Nizami to undertake, subject of course to the Quaid-i-Azam's approval. I may mention that during the one year that I was the President of the Student's Federation, the Punjab Prime Minister did his best to dissuade me from organising and directing their activities. My reply was clear that, as I owed allegiance to the Quaid,

unless and until he himself would stop me, I would continue to guide the Muslim students' political activities in the Punjab as directed by him.

The Quaid-i-Azam correctly gauged that the future strength of the Indian Muslim nation lay in its youth, who must be induced and inspired to take active part in national affairs. So he paid special attention to them and got into touch with them whenever and wherever possible. Throughout my contact with the Quaid I noticed that while the "big" people had generally to approach him formally, he was much more easily accessible to the students and young people. To the gathering of Muslim students at Lahore (in March 1941), he said : "You must, my young friends, in the first instance, apply your minds to the nation-building departments," which, according to him, were education, trade and defence. About a week later, addressing the Muslim students at Aligarh, he said : "Aligarh is the arsenal of Muslim India and you are its best soldiers. Go to the countryside. Educate our people and lift them. Explain to our people what is our goal. I ask you to spend your vacation in attending to constructive work."

Next year in November 1942 under the Quaid-i-Azam's direction I took an active part in the 6 Annual Session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation held at Jullunder, under the Presidentship of the Quaid, and there I delivered an address in Urdu as the Chairman of the Reception Committee, wherein I traced the history of Muslim political awakening in India and, after describing Islam as "Spiritual Socialism," exhorted the Muslim young men to march on this road to our national freedom. The Quaid-i-Azam, as he told me then and there, approved of my ideas and was immensely pleased at the success of the Students' Conference. From Jullunder my wife and I accompanied him and Miss Jinnah, and we motored together to Kapurthala and from there onwards to Amritsar and Lahore. At all these places the Quaid-i-Azam was welcomed by huge crowds ; he addressed public meetings specially arranged by the local people to welcome him and to assure him of their whole-hearted support. About eight months earlier in April 1942 at my request the Quaid-i-Azam had relieved me of my duties as President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, but wrote to me that one day the nation would need my services. Soon after on 31 July 1942, the Quaid informed me that he had "appointed me as one of the members of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League."

On 6 August I wrote to him from Srinagar and thanked him for the honour he had bestowed on me, but when I met him

in Delhi in November next I humbly submitted to him that, while I considered it a great privilege to follow his lead wherever he led us, I was not really good enough for an experienced politician's task. He promptly replied, "Do you want me to hand over the League to the politicians whom I cannot trust? At least I know that you would prove faithful to our cause. That is enough for me. I am sure you can attend the meetings of the Working Committee, and keep me informed of political developments in your Province."

This task I tried to fulfil with my very limited experience and ability. Like thousands of others, I regarded the Quaid-i-Azam as our great national hero who could not be purchased or intimidated, who was sincere and honest and bold, with a vast political experience in the past and with a clear view of the future destiny of Indian Muslims.

In August 1942 while in Srinagar (Kashmir) I got into touch with some of the prominent Muslim Kashmiri leaders and among other things helped to bring about a reconciliation between Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and Mir Waiz. I continued to take interest in Kashmir affairs and from time to time brought them to the notice of the Quaid. I wrote about Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas to him, and Chaudhry Sahib met him at Delhi during the next winter season. On 10 December I drew the attention of the Quaid to the mischief being done there by Iyengar as the Prime Minister of Kashmir in conjunction with the Kashmiri Muslim Congressites and suggested that, as the said Prime Minister had been at the helm of affairs for more than six years, the Quaid might speak to the Viceroy and see if he could be replaced by a less anti-Muslim individual. The Quaid wrote back to me on 3 January 1943 saying. "With regard to Kashmir I really do not know what to do in the matter and how to make a definite move, but I assure you that the matter is in front of me."

In 1943 there were some jealousies and bickerings within the orbit of the Punjab Muslim League of which I apprised the Quaid (in my letter dated 30 January 1943). The Quaid replied to me (in his letter dated 4 February 1943) enclosing a copy of his letter in which he gave strict warning to the chief trouble-maker at Lahore. About this over-ambitious gentleman who constantly dogged his footsteps, he had once humorously remarked to me at Lahore. "Who will save me from this man?" By his stern and swift action the Quaid succeeded in nipping in the bud these internal troubles and smoothing the path of those who were faithfully serving the cause of the League. On 24 March he wrote to me: "I hope that Mamdot and you will

let me know and keep me informed what developments are taking place from time to time and, therefore, I will request you to keep me informed as to what is going on in your province. . . . I will run up to Lahore if necessary."

From October 1937 onwards, after the All-India Muslim League Session at Lucknow, when the Congress began to rule in seven provinces in British India, the League, under the able guidance and with the tremendous influence of the Quaid-i-Azam, became a real mass movement among the Muslims. As the years rolled on and particularly after the March 1940 Pakistan Session of the League at Lahore, the Quaid-i-Azam got more and more in touch with the Muslim masses, not only by trying to solve their problems, but also by himself trying to express his ideas in the language which they understood and by sincerely sharing with them their spiritual feelings and beliefs. In spite of his multifarious engagements, he found time to polish his Urdu, to see what mistakes he committed in his Urdu speeches and improve upon them. At his behest I wrote a letter to him on 17 April 1943 on the subject and tried to be helpful to him in this regard. He once told Baba-i-Urdu, Moulvi Abdul Haq, that his Urdu was "Tongawala's Urdu." Nevertheless, due to his active interest in the welfare of his people, he greatly improved his Urdu, so that during the last five years or so, he could make public speeches in the national language even for half an hour at a time more fluently and more correctly than before.

Regarding his religious tendencies and beliefs I was once surprised to find that he was no longer the secular thinker that he was usually reputed to be. Once in 1943 or 1944, when I visited him at his New Delhi residence at 10, Aurangzeb Road, and when I expressed before him my anxiety and doubts about the present condition and future prospects of our nation, he checked me in my pessimistic appraisal and criticism, and, pointing to the Holy Quran which was lying on a nearby table, he said in a very serious vein, "Why should we worry or be dejected, when we have got this great Book to guide us ?" It produced a deep and lasting impression on my mind. I was present when the Quaid-i-Azam uttered his last words at the last Session of the All-India Muslim League at Karachi on 26 December 1943. "What was it that kept the Muslims united as one man, and what was the bedrock and sheet-anchor of the community ?" asked Mr. Jinnah. "Islam," he said, and added : "It is the Great Book, Quran, that is the sheet-anchor of Muslim India. I am sure that, as we go on and on, there will be more and more of oneness—one God, one Book, one Prophet and one

nation" (see *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Vol. II, p. 50, edited by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, formerly of Muslim University, Aligarh).

And see how the Quaid-i-Azam interpreted Islam for us. In reply to the Civil Address of the Karachi Corporation, on 25 August 1947, he said : "It shall be our aim not only to remove want and fear of all types but secure liberty, fraternity and equality as enjoined upon us by Islam."

In his Id message on 24 October 1947 he proclaimed : "We shall show to the world that the State exists not for life, but for good life."

The Quaid-i-Azam explained his concept of Islamic democracy as follows : "It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for us by our great law-giver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations" (Speech at Sibi Durbar, 14 February 1948).

He was a sincere friend of all oppressed people. On more than one occasion he espoused the cause of Muslim women. In his speech to the Aligarh Muslim University Union on 10 March 1944 he said, "You should take your women along with you as comrades in every sphere of life, avoiding the corrupt practices of Western society." Those who think the Quaid was a "Sahib Log" should ponder over this wonderfully balanced advice and statement.

Both Allama Iqbal and the Quaid-i-Azam believed in Islam as a true socialistic system ; both took a firm stand against reactionary ideas and ultra-modern theories. As we have seen above, Iqbal, in his letter of 28 May 1937, described Islam as a "social democracy". In the same letter he observed, "Personally I believe that a political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses . . . . According to 'Islamic Law' the right of subsistence is secured to everybody." Who has not heard the great poet's well-known "Farman-i-Khuda" (Edict af God") :

اُٹھو مری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو
کاخِ اُمرا کے در و دیوار ہلا دو
جس کھیت سے دہقاں کو میسر نہ ہو روزی
اُس کھیت کے ہر خوشۂ گندم کو جلا دو

[Arise and awaken the poor of my world,
Shake up the lordly palaces of the rich.
The field which does not provide sustenance to the tiller,
Go and burn down every corn's ear of that field

—*Bal-i-Jibril*, 1935]

Now listen to what the Quaid-i-Azam said on the subject in his Presidential Address at the Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi, on 24 April 1943: "I have no doubt that a large body of us visualise Pakistan as people's government. . . . . I am sure that democracy is in our blood. . . . It will be a people's government. Here I should like to give a warning to the landlords and capitalists who have flourished at our expense by a system which is so vicious, which is so wicked and which makes them so selfish that it is difficult to reason with them. The exploitation of the masses has gone into their blood. They have forgotten the lessons of Islam . . . . There are millions and millions of our people who hardly get one meal a day. Is this civilisation? Is this the aim of Pakistan? . . . If that is the idea of Pakistan, I would not have it. . . . If they are wiser they will have to adjust themselves to the new modern conditions of life. . . . The constitution of Pakistan can only be formed by the the Millat and the people."

Less than six months before his death, the Quaid-i-Azam clinched the issue in an address he delivered at a public meeting at Chittagong (26 March 1948): "Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasise equality and brotherhood of man." So let us not forget that "social democracy" and "Islamic socialism" were the two great practical ideals put before us by our Hakim-ur-Ummat Iqbal and our Quaid-i-Azam! And they also showed us the way to implement them.

In times of crises the Quaid-i-Azam rose to the occasion and proved to his nation and to India at large the true and forceful leader that he was. After the breakdown of the Jinnah-Khizar talks at Lahore in April 1944, I well remember how we listened in awe and admiration to his thundering voice on the telephone in Mamdot Villa, as he uttered his final parting words to the Punjab Premier who had been trying to prevaricate and not face the issue of his objections to the League fairly and squarely.[1]

1. A prominent Punjab Muslim League leader who was also present at the scene told the editor that the Quaid-i-Azam uttered the following words on the phone: "Khizar, you are following a mad course which will lead you to disaster."

Towards the end of the month the Quaid presided over the League Conference at Sialkot and in his speech criticised and exposed the conduct of the Punjab Premier and his betrayal of the Muslim League. Soon after speaking at Sialkot Muslim Students' Federation the Quaid said: "We have traitors among the Mussulmans. We have no power over them. . . . The only course is to ignore them and go ahead with your programme. . . . People call me a dictator. But it was my duty as the President of the Muslim League to demand an explanation from the members of our organisation who make mistakes." I too went to the Sialkot Conference and experienced the excitement and exhilaration so evident there.

As a result the Punjab Muslim League was greatly invigorated and its influence spread rapidly among the intelligentsia and the masses. Co-operating with other Provincial League leaders, I on my own prepared, as the Publicity Secretary, about half a dozen Urdu pamphlets, such as:

"مسلم لیگ اور یونینسٹ پارٹی"
"پنجاب کی کہانی قائد اعظم کی زبانی"
"پنجاب کیا ہے؟ کب ملے گا اور کیونکر"

[Muslim League and "the Unionist Party" "Story of the Punjab in Quaid-i-Azam's Words," "What is Pakistan? When and How It Will be Achieved?"]

I sent copies of these to the Quaid with an English summary which he was pleased to receive (*vide* his letter to me dated 28 June 1944). Two months earlier he had asked me to supply him some pamphlets in English issued by the All-India Muslim League and the Punjab League which I did. He was always very keen to go through all this political literature from time to time, and to keep in touch with all that was happening in the political sphere.

On 14 November 1945 I wrote to him: "As to the general situation in the Punjab I think you must be aware that it has undergone a tremendous change. The League movement is spreading even to the rural areas with (what is even to the League leaders here) unexpected rapidity. . . . This new enthusiasm for the League is undoubtedly the result of your superhuman efforts and your wonderful foresight. Your entire work for Muslim India is at last bearing fruit."

I would in the end like to relate a few more incidents that happened during my interviews with the Quaid or in the Working Committee, of which I was a member for about five years

(1942-47). There is an impression among some people that he was a hard task-master and a stern dictator who would not listen to anyone at any time. This is totally wrong and misleading. No doubt, being a hard and sincere worker himself, he expected others to work hard and work sincerely for the common cause. But in spite of this he was a patient and democratic leader. In the Working Committee, he sometimes listened for hours without putting in a word himself. He wanted everyone to say something whenever an important problem was being discussed in the Working Committee meetings. I remember him saying on one occasion rather humorously to one of our Punjab members in Urdu : آپ بھی کچھ کہیں نا ! [Won't you too say something?]. I myself was one of the less vocal members of the Working Committee, though, even in his commanding presence, such was his encouraging and energising attitude, that in my private interviews with him I could often open my heart and talk to him freely and sometimes at length. In March 1945 a Session of the All-India Muslim League was to be held in Lahore, but it had to be postponed indefinitely owing to the Quaid-i-Azam's illness. I along with others was working in connection with the coming Session, and had undertaken to make my humble literary contribution for a National Islamic Exhibition that was to be held along with the Session. For this I prepared sixteen charts in Urdu describing "The Achievement of Islam and Awakening of Muslim India". The charts summarised the historical events and cultural progress made by the Muslims from the time of the Holy Prophet down to the days of Allama Iqbal and Quaid-i-Azam.

The proposed Annual Session of the League, having been postponed, I went in April 1945 to see the Quaid-i-Azam at Delhi and to inquire after his health. He was still convalescing and was resting in his bed-room in the upper storey. He called me up and, although Miss Fatima Jinnah told me that according to medical advice the interviews by people had been suspended, the Quaid-i-Azam, with his usual courtesy and interest in the work of his followers, talked to me for full one hour. We discussed the political situation in India and, knowing his interest in Islamic history and traditions and the League publicity work, I showed him my above-mentioned historical charts, a synopsis of which I had prepared for him in English. He showed keen interest in a perusal of the work, and encouraged me by saying that these charts should be published and would prove useful. He was still lying on his bed but was immediately dressed and there was a noticeable and heartening liveliness in his looks. Before leaving I again inquired after his health. He said, "O!

I am perfectly well now."

Actually he was not in perfect health and the strain of work and his constant concern and anxiety for the nation were gradually undermining his health. But with his devotion to duty and to the ideal he had set before himself to liberate and elevate the Muslims, he was constantly exercising his tremendous will-power to overcome his disease and physical weakness and this considerably postponed his collapse till some time after the achievement of Pakistan. On 25 April 1945, in reply to my letter, he wrote to me from Matheran Bombay: "I am glad to inform you that I am very much better now and hope to be quite all right very soon. All I need is complete rest for some time." This "complete rest" he was not destined to get till almost the last day of his earthly life.

A series of most important events occurred during the last three years of the Quaid-i-Azam's life. At this critical time and during the political vicissitudes he stuck to his guns boldly and encouraged his followers not to lose heart. During the Simla Conference (25 June to 14 July 1945) when Lord Wavell did his best to force the Muslim League to agree to his compromise formula of popular representation in the Viceroy's Council, many members of the League Working Committee were of the opinion that as the League was not strong enough to insist that all the Muslim representatives must be League nominees, we had better give in on this point. We talked to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan about it. He retorted and said that if we felt strongly about it, why did we not have the courage to go to the Quaid himself and tell him so? We agreed to do so. When my turn came and I pleaded for the compromise, the Quaid patted me on the shoulder and said, "My boy, don't have cold feet. Our demand is just and we must stick to it." We felt that the League was not strong enough, but we forgot for the time being the single-handed strength of the Quaid-i-Azam. He persevered in his stand, the Conference failed, but ultimately the Muslims gained through his perseverance, as was evident from the result of the countrywide elections held in January 1946.

As Bolitho in his biography says: "The victory of the Muslim League at the polls was overwhelming, both in the Provinces and in the Central Assembly. This was Jinnah's glorious hour: his arduous political campaigns, his robust beliefs and claim were at last justified . . . . Jinnah was now able to repeat 'No power on earth can prevent Pakistan.'"

The Quaid-i-Azam was kind and considerate to us in the League Working Committee, but when occasionally he felt it

necessary he did not hesitate to pull us up. Once he complained against our inability to supply him regularly with the necessary information, and said rather ironically that a certain body in Lahore was sending him more information, including many useful press cuttings, than any one of us.

One incident I shall never forget. After the awful killings of the Muslims in Bihar in September 1946, not long after the Congress had taken over the reins of the Government at Delhi, the Viceroy once offered the League some seats in his newly-formed Executive Council. The question came up before the Working Committee in the beginning of October. Our "senior" members all beseeched and pressed upon the Quaid-i-Azam that he himself must go in, for otherwise the League would not be able to stand out in the Cabinet against Nehru and other Congress members. The discussion went on for a long time. It was becoming doubtful if the Quaid-i-Azam would agree to the proposal, but he heard all the arguments quietly and patiently. At last with one single remark and admonition he silenced the speakers and gave a crushing answer to them all. He said politely but firmly: "Thank you, gentlemen. But I am of the definite opinion that I should not join the Cabinet. You know, why? If I go in, who will be there to support me outside the Government? Excuse me for saying so, gentlemen, but the people trust me and they think that I am the Muslim League. When I am not in the Muslim League, there may be no Muslim League left to support me. What will happen then?" Then pointing to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, he continued, "No, Liaquat, you better go in. I know you would do well. Here am I and there will be the All-India Muslim League to support you. I tell you, you would do well." All agreed: There was no more any dissentient voice. At that time an incident from English history flashed upon my memory. The Seven Years' War between England and France (1756-63) was going on. Almost everywhere France was gaining ground and England was losing. At that juncture William Pitt came on the scene as England's new Prime Minister and said, "I know that I can save this country and nobody else can." At critical times in the history of the world, great men have heard the call of time and, despite all criticism and opposition, have answered it boldly and decisively. Thus they served their nation and even saved humanity. The Quaid-i-Azam was such a man: that is why at a time when things looked dark and dismal, Allama Iqbal wrote to him on 21 June 1937, "You are *the only Muslim in India* to-day to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance, through the storm which is coming

to North-West India and perhaps to the whole of India." The storm broke, the ship of the Muslim nation was shaken from storm to storm, but luckily it found a bold and far-seeing pilot who safely steered its course through trouble waters.

The Quaid-i-Azam was a truly great man. As the Yuvorajah of Pithapuram said in 1944: "I cannot help thinking that Jinnah would have been equally great wherever he might have been born. . . . It has been an accident and the Muslims of India are to be congratulated that Mr. Jinnah has become the leader of the Muslim League."

The Quaid-i-Azam won Pakistan for us, but as he warned us in his notable address to the Armed Forces on 21 February 1948: "We have won the battle for Pakistan's freedom, but the grimmer battle for the preservation of that freedom and building on a firmer and sounder basis is still in progress and that battle has to be fought to a successful conclusion, if we are to survive as a great nation. Nature's inexorable law is the survival of the fittest and we have to prove ourselves fit for our newly-won freedom."

In his last message to the nation on 14 August 1948, only twenty-eight days before his death, he addressed the nation in these inspiring and prophetic words: "I have full faith in my people that they will rise to every occasion worthy of our past Islamic history, glory and traditions."

The Quaid-i-Azam trusted the Muslims of Pakistan, now they have to prove worthy of that trust.

Sterling Qualities of the Quaid

BY

SYED HUSAIN IMAM

[Mr. Husain Imam is among the veterans of the Muslim freedom movement. Educated in England, he started his public career in his home town Gaya (Bihar) where he was elected a member of the Municipal Committee in 1928. The same year he joined the Muslim League of which he remained an active member till 1947. In 1930 he was elected a member of the Council of State (Upper House) where he was Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party which formed the Opposition in the Council. He was re-elected to the Council in every election till 1947. In 1938 Mr. Husain Imam became leader of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State which office he continued to hold till 1947. The Quaid-i-Azam nominated him as a member of his Working Committee in 1941 and of the League's Central Parliamentary Board in 1944. In the Legislature Mr. Husain Imam showed a special flair for subjects concerned with Finance and Defence and made notable contribution to debates. At different times he was member of Central Textile Board, Central Board of the Imperial Bank of India, Imperial Council of Agricultural Research and Foodgrains Policy Committee. He was appointed President of the Council of State in 1947. In Pakistan he was Founder President of the House Building Finance Corporation and Chairman, Handloom Inquiry Committee. He is actively associated with a number of religious, social and philanthropic organisations.]

It was as a school student in England that I had my first glimpse of the Quaid-i-Azam in 1914. Mr. Jinnah, as he then was, had arrived in London as a member of the Congress delegation in connection with the projected constitutional reforms for India. He was accompanied by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Even at that early stage of his career Mr. Jinnah had attained the status of a top-ranking politician noted for his progressive views and

independent attitude. I and the other young Indian students in England were struck by his towering personality, dignified bearing and political acumen. He became something of a hero to us.

After my return to India I too began to take interest in public life and political developments in the country. It was not until 1928 that I had a closer glimpse of Mr. Jinnah. The controversy over the constitutional scheme embodied in the Nehru Report was in full swing and it come up for discussion and decision at an All-Parties Conference convened by the Congress at Calcutta in the last week of December 1928. I had the opportunity of attending the Conference as a delegate from Bihar. Mr. Jinnah came to the Conference as leader of the Muslim League delegation. I listened with rapt attention and deep interest to his historic speech on the amendments which he had proposed for modifying the scheme of communal representation contained in the Report. The amendments were of a modest nature and one could not but be impressed by Mr. Jinnah's genuine anxiety to promote an amicable solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem on which constitutional progress towards self-government depended. His speech on the occasion was a classic example of cogent reasoning, brilliant advocacy, force of argument, persuasive eloquence and earnestness of approach. If reason were the criterion for the settlement of issues, the Congress had no ground to reject his proposals which, if accepted, would have helped it in achieving its objective of a free and united India. But the Congress and other Hindu parties showed a woeful lack of imagination and spirit of accommodation and summarily turned down Mr. Jinnah's proposals. It saddened him, and for him it was the parting of the ways. In retrospect it now appears to me that what looked like defeat and humiliation at that time ultimately turned out to be the salvation of the Muslims, for if a settlement on the basis of joint electorate had been reached the position of Muslims as a political factor and entity would have been lost and they would have been reduced to political serfdom in the entire sub-continent.

The first opportunity to have direct contact and to exchange of views with Mr. Jinnah came my way some time in the latter half of 1931. I was then a member of the Executive of the All-Parties Muslim Conference the first session of which had been held at Delhi on the 1st of January 1929. We invited Mr. Jinnah to a meeting of the general council of the Conference held at Allahabad just before the Second Round Table Conference in 1931. The meeting was called to lay down lines of policy for the guidance of the Muslim delegation to the Round Table Conference,

especially those belonging to the All-Parties Muslim Conference. Mr. Jinnah, though not a member of the Muslim Conference, kindly accepted our invitation. At this meeting I had a free and frank discussion with him. I put him certain questions regarding the safeguards which the Muslims were demanding. He listened to me with patience and courtesy and elucidated certain points in his usual logical and persuasive style. I can testify that Mr. Jinnah was never annoyed by difference of opinion or opposition. He tried to win over the opposition by reasoning and argument. Here I might explain that impatience or irritability was not a part of his general character and disposition. He reacted in what appeared to be an impatient manner only when he felt that he was being baited or unnecessarily harassed. But he was very accommodating and conciliatory if he found that someone had genuine doubts and was sincerely in quest of knowledge and englightenment.

There is a general impression that he was fastidious in the matter of clothes. This is not the whole truth. As one who had opportunities of observing him closely, I can state that he was in reality a perfectionist in all aspects of his life and dealings and his sartorial taste was only an outward manifestation of this inner urge for perfection. Similarly, many people were misled by his apparent reserve. He did give an impression of being reserved but it was neither superciliousness nor did it involve any disdain of others. From the affluent circumstances of his boyhood he had been transported to a life of hard struggle in the early stage of his career as a lawyer, and through sheer diligence and perseverance he rose to a position of eminence in his profession with fame and wealth knocking at his door. These transitions led him to build up a kind of reserve around him which was merely a defence against any attempt to belittle, slight or deceive him. Even when he was irked, his annoyance was confined to mere expression of emphatic disapproval. He never harboured ill-will, his heart was clean. There were aspects of his life in which his reserve gave place to relaxation and even informality. His behaviour towards his party men and colleagues was not characterised by reserve. In fact, he was all courtesy and kindness to anyone who was a genuine seeker of knowledge and had a real desire to serve the people. In his moments of relaxation he would regale his friends with delightful talk and interesting anecdotes and a great fund of wit and humour.

After the First Round Table Conference Mr. Jinnah stayed in London and started practice before the Privy Council. After four years he returned to India at the urgent entreaty of his old

friends and colleagues. Although he had been absent from India for a long time, so high was the esteem in which he was held that he was almost forced by the Muslims of Bombay to agree to his election from that constituency to the Central Assembly in the autumn of 1934. The sitting member from Bombay, Sir Rahimtoola Chinoy, himself proposed Mr. Jinnah's name and he was elected unopposed. The old Independent Party in the Assembly was revived with Mr. Jinnah as the leader. I had got elected to the Council of State and an Independent Party on similar lines was formed in the Council with myself as its leader. Here began my active political association with Mr. Jinnah. I was deeply influenced by his way of thinking and realistic approach to problems. His sagacity, honesty of purpose, sturdy independence and utter sincerity created a deep impression on my mind. I followed his lead. At New Delhi and Simla during the sessions of the two Houses I had many opportunities of meeting and exchanging views with him. As I said before, he never tried to impose himself on anyone ; he always tried to convert others to his point of view by reason and argument.

The budget session of the Central Assembly in March 1935 revealed Mr. Jinnah as a parliamentarian of unrivalled calibre and skill. The Assembly was called upon to discuss the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the British Parliament on constitutional reform and express opinion on its recommendations. Mr. Jinnah's main concern as leader of the Muslims and also as one interested in the constitutional advance of India as a whole was to see to it that the Federal plan embodied in the Report should be shelved as it was most retrograde and particularly detrimental to the Muslim interests, the defects of scheme of Provincial autonomy should be exposed but it should not be altogether rejected as it provided opportunities to Muslims to consolidate their position in four provinces, and the Communal Award specifying the proportion of representation of various communities in the Legislatures, though not very satisfactory, should stand. Mr. Jinnah moved an amendment in three parts to the official motion for consideration of the Report. The first part recommending acceptance of the Communal Award till an agreed substitute was found was carried, the Congress Party remaining neutral and Government supporting ; the other two parts characterising the Provincial scheme as unsatisfactory and disappointing and totally rejecting the Federal scheme and calling for establishment in British India alone of real and complete responsible government were carried, the Congress supporting and Government opposing.

The result of the debate was hailed as a personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah. He displayed political acumen and strategy of a high order. His party of twenty-two members (eighteen of them being Muslims) held the balance in the House and he used it to the maximum advantage. He outwitted both the Congress and the Government to get his three amendments passed with a view to safeguarding the Muslim interests as well as promoting the larger interests of the country as a whole as distinct from the interests of the communal Hindu majority which the Congress symbolised.

The Muslim League had been in a moribund state during Mr. Jinnah's absence in England. On his return he was re-elected as the League's permanent President and he set about reorganising and putting new life into the body. Efforts were made to get Mian Sir Fazl-i-Husain to preside over the next session of the League. He had retired from membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He, however, declined the offer ostensibly on the ground of ill-health. The real reason for his refusal was his anxiety to contest elections in the name of the old Unionist Party, a feudal organisation, and come into power in the Punjab with the blessings of the British authorities. Immediately after his return to the Punjab Sir Fazl-i-Husain began to resurrect the Unionist Party with the help of feudal landlords, Hindu Jats and some Sikhs. There was no session of the Muslim League in 1935, but there was a general feeling that efforts should be made to put new life into the League.

A year later Mr. Jinnah called the session at Bombay in April 1936 and Sir Wazir Hasan of Lucknow, who had retired from the office of Chief Justice of Lucknow Chief Court and had been Secretary of the League from 1912 to 1918, was elected to preside over this Session. The new phase of the Muslim League as a vigorous body actually started with the Bombay Session. It took a very important step in resolving to contest the forthcoming provincial elections as a party and authorised Mr. Jinnah to form Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards for the purpose, I was among those who supported this resolution. The decision was an indication of the trust reposed in Mr. Jinnah's leadership. At this Session Moulvi Sir Mohammad Yakub resigned from the office of Secretary of the League and, at Mr. Jinnah's instance, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was elected in his place. Mr. Jinnah toured all the provinces in a herculean effort to awaken the Muslims to the fast changing situation and to unite and prepare them to meet its demands. The Muslims were in a state of disunity and did not respond to Mr. Jinnah's fervent call as whole-heartedly as they should

have done. His efforts, however, were not altogether unsuccessful. The League captured 60 to 70% seats in some of the Muslim-minority provinces and about one-third seats in Bengal which later increased. The foundations for the growth of the League as a body capable of fighting for the cause of Muslim India were laid.

From 1937 onwards I came into closer contact with Mr. Jinnah. During the budget session of the Central Legislature in March 1938 the Independent Party both in the Central Assembly and the Council of State was converted into the Muslim League Party. I had frequent opportunities of meeting Mr. Jinnah and having free and cordial discussions with him. I retain the most pleasant memories of discussions as they added to my knowledge and revealed to me many facets of Mr. Jinnah's mental calibre and qualities of character and leadership. Mr. Jinnah till then had been a great parliamentary leader and a leader of the intelligentsia through whom he influenced Muslim public opinion. But now he came into direct contact with the people and assumed the leadership of the Muslim masses. I was struck by his ability to change the habits and ways of a lifetime to give his people the leadership that they expected and demanded. He even learnt Urdu which was not his mother tongue and began to make speeches in this language. It redounds to his credit and it is a measure of his intellectual honesty that he did not hesitate to change his way of thinking and view of the political and constitutional future in the light of the realities of the situation and the experience of the attitude, ambitions and designs of the Hindu majority. Even when he was a member of the Congress he had stood for a dispensation which postulated freedom equally for Hindus, Muslims and the minorities. And the stand which he took from 1937 onwards was determined by the same sincere desire to secure freedom for all, even if it meant a break-away from the old grooves of thought and action.

During 1937-39 the Congress Ministries were in power in eight out of eleven provinces. The Muslim received the severest jolt from the iniquitous policies and actions of the Congress Ministries, even though only a limited amount of power had been transferred to Indian hands. They were convinced that if the final and complete transfer of power were to take place on the basis of united India in the way the Congress demanded it, their fate would be sealed. But there was a silver lining to the dark clouds. The Muslims did not lose heart. Under the courageous and inspiring leadership of Mr. Jinnah whom they now

hailed as Quaid-i-Azam they undertook a programme of intense political activity to organise the League, take its message to the remotest corners of the sub-continent, thoroughly expose the injustices and pretensions of the Congress and focus attention on Muslim sufferings and grievances. The Muslims' main concern at this stage was to prevent the Congress from capturing power at the Centre without coming to terms with the League, for it would have doomed the Muslims to political and economic thraldom. The strategy followed by the Quaid-i-Azam in this connection was eminently successful, as he was able, through skilful negotiations, to induce the British Government to suspend the Federal plan of the Government of India Act, 1935, and finally to abandon it altogether.

The Quaid-i-Azam offered several times to negotiate a settlement with the Congress, but his earnest efforts failed due to the Congress's obstinate refusal to treat with the Muslim League as the representative body of the Muslims. Upon the outbreak of War in September 1939 the Viceroy Lord Linlithgow suggested discussions between the League and the Congress leaders with a view to reaching an understanding for League-Congress co-operation in the Provincial sphere which could be followed up by the participation of the main political parties in the Central Government. The Quaid-i-Azam immediately expressed willingness to discuss matters with the Congress leaders but the later refused to have such discussions insisting on their pound of flesh, for they wanted to use the war situation to establish Congress Raj, in other words Hindu Raj, over the entire sub-continent. Thus a golden opportunity to secure constitutional advance was lost because of Congress intransigence, but the Muslims learnt their lesson. In 1940 the Quaid-i-Azam, in keeping with the general state of feeling and thought in Muslim India, reached the conclusion that the only feasible course was to demand outright division of the sub-continent into autonomous Hindu and Muslim States. This was done in the resolution adopted at the Lahore Session of the All-India Muslim League in March 1940 which later came to be known as the Pakistan Resolution and became the Magna Carta of Muslim India. It gave shape and direction to the inner urges of the Muslim nation which so far had been inarticulate. The League now had a positive and solid base on which it could carry on its movement for the emancipation of the Muslims.

What was a resolution in 1940 was incorporated as the creed in the constitution of the All-India Muslim League at its Madras Session in 1941. The Quaid-i-Azam kindly included

me in the Working Committee nominated by him after the Madras Session. It was a great honour and an expression of his confidence for which I could not be too grateful. In July 1941 there occurred an episode which confronted Muslim India with a serious trial and revealed the Quaid-i-Azam's courage and capacity to meet any challenge from any quarter. The British Government having failed to secure the active co-operation of the political parties in the war efforts still wanted to associate some leading Indians with the Government and the war effort and came out with an announcement for the expansion of the Executive Council to include Indians and the setting up of a Defence Council in terms of what was known as the August 1940 offer which the Muslim League had already rejected. The Muslim Premiers of Assam, Bengal and the Punjab were told that they were being included in the Defence Council as *ex-officio* members in their capacity as Premiers, but in the Viceroy's message communicated to the Quaid-i-Azam through the Governor of Bombay, Sir Roger Lumly, it was explicitly stated that they were appointed as representatives of the "great Muslim community." It was a well-planned move to create a split in the Muslim League. The Quaid-i-Azam immediately took up the issue and declared that the association of the Muslim League Premiers with the Defence Council was against the express decision and policy of the Muslim League. He called a meeting of the Working Committee to consider the question. There was a general apprehension that the Punjab Premier Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, in view of his known policy regarding war effort, might not fall in with the League's decision and part company, and the attitude of Mr. Fazlul Haq was unpredictable. We had gathered at the Mount Pleasant Road home of the Quaid-i-Azam for the meeting. Before the commencement of the meeting Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was closeted with the Quaid-i-Azam in another room. There was a sombre atmosphere in the room where members of the Working Committee were gathered but it was soon relieved when the Quaid-i-Azam and Sir Sikandar Hayat entered the room with smiling faces. The Quaid-i-Azam explained the situation and announced that Sir Sikandar Hayat had decided to honour the policy of the League and resign from the Defence Council. Sir Sikandar Hayat too stated that, in view of the Viceroy's message to the Quaid-i-Azam, he could not serve on the Defence Council and had decided to resign from it in compliance with the wishes of his leader and organisation. Sir Sikandar's statement was warmly applauded and he was heartily complimented for upholding the solidarity of the Muslim nation.

The Working Committee also deputed Sir Sikandar Hayat to get in touch with the other two Premiers, Mr. Fazlul Haq and Sir Sa'adullah, who could not attend the meeting, and communicate the Working Committee's decision to them. I accompanied Sir Sikandar Hayat to the Taj Mahal Hotel from where he made trunk calls to the Premiers of Assam and Bengal. The former immediately agreed to resign from the Defence Council, the latter averred that he required time to consider the matter. Sir Sikandar himself dictated a strongly worded letter to the Viceroy protesting against the manner in which his name was included in the personnel of the Defence Council and resigning from it. Mr. Fazlul Haq was given ten days' time in which to make up his mind. Be it said to the credit of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan that he realised the intensity of the Muslim feeling and, keeping in view the interests of his nation, he upheld the cause and solidarity of his party, irrespective of the wishes of the British Government and the part he had played in its war efforts. The resounding victory of the Muslim League high-lighted the Quaid-i-Azam's sagacity, courage and ability to uphold principles and enforce discipline in the face of grave risks. Thanks to his circumspection and fortitude, the episode of the Defence Council served to create in the Muslims the self-confidence and pride which was so necessary to carry on the struggle for Pakistan to a successful conclusion.

In the spring of 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal in Mr. Churchill's Government, came to India with an offer which represented another serious bid by the British Government to enlist the support and co-operation of Indian political parties at a critical stage of the War. The Cripps Scheme provided for the setting up of a constitution-making body at the end of the War and immediate formation of a Provisional Government consisting of Indian representatives to whom all portfolios except Defence would be transferred. The Scheme also provided for non-accession of provinces to the contemplated Indian Union and the formation of another union of non-acceding provinces if they so wished. The details of the procedure for deciding the accession issue were, of course, not satisfactory, but it speaks volumes for the Quaid-i-Azam's statesmanship that he had succeeded in securing recognition of the principle of partition within two years of the passage of the Lahore Resolution. The Congress was anxious to come into power at the Centre under the guise of interim arrangements and the League's strategy was to prevent the Congress from doing so without coming to terms with the League. The Congress overplayed its hand and rejected the Cripps offer unless Defence were also transferred and the

Provisional Government were made responsible to the Central Assembly dominated by a 75% Hindu majority. It came as a relief to the League. There was then no point in the League accepting the Cripps offer, for it alone could not have been included in the Provisional Government and even if it had been possible it would have brought it discredit in the prevailing climate.

At the Karachi Session of the League in December 1943 far-reaching decisions were taken to set up a Committee of Action, a Central Parliamentary Board, and a Planning Committee. The Quaid-i-Azam kindly nominated me to the Parliamentary Board, the other two members being Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan who was also its convener. The Board had before it a very onerous task and heavy responsibility as would be seen later.

As the War was nearing its end the British Government made another bid to associate the political parties with the Government. The Viceroy Lord Wavell called a conference of leaders of the political parties and Premiers and ex-Premiers of provinces at Simla in June 1945. I am now the sole surviving Muslim League invitee to the Conference. The Wavell Plan envisaged the formation of a Provisional Government, all members of which except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief would be Indian political leaders including equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims, besides minority representatives. The Congress again, by its stubborn refusal to recognise the representative character of Muslim League, wrecked the chances of success of the conference and lost the opportunity of securing transfer of power. The Quaid-i-Azam and the League stood firm on their demand for allocation of the Muslim seats to Muslim League nominees and for a safeguard for the protection of Muslim interests within the Council. The Congress's intransigence proved to be a blessing in disguise, for it forced the British Government's hands to hold fresh elections which gave the League the long-awaited opportunity to prove its representative character. The democratic instinct of the British led them firstly to order general elections and secondly to abide by its results. It was a triumph of the Quaid-i-Azam's statesmanship that he successfully prevented the formation of the Provisional Government on Congress terms, for if it had come into existence it would have deprived the Muslim League of the opportunity of establishing its representative character and fighting for Pakistan. Here I must mention the part played by Malik Feroz Khan Noon who was Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council at the time. His pro-Muslim League

symyathies were known. In spite of his official position he kept in constant touch with the Quaid-i-Azam and posted him with information regarding inside developments.

Elections to the Central Assembly were held in November 1945 and those to the Provincial Assemblies in February 1946. It was a most hectic time for the Parliamentary Board, for it was engaged in the difficult and delicate task, firstly, of distributing tickets to candidates for the Central Assembly and, secondly, hearing and deciding appeals against the decisions of the numerous Provincial Parliamentary Boards. We were constantly on the move from one part of the country to another for weeks together. The situation in Bengal had to be tackled with great tact. There were two main groups of candidates led by Khwaja Nazimuddin and Mr. Suhrawardy. It will always redound to the credit of the late Khwaja Nazimuddin that he voluntarily withdrew from election in order to eliminate the possibility of dissensions inside the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and to ensure solidarity in the ranks of the Muslim League. This act of sacrifice contributed to the Muslim League's success which won 113 out of 119 Muslim seats and was able to form a stable Ministry with the support of some independent and Scheduled Caste Hindu members. The Parliamentary Board acquitted itself well of the task assigned to it and, as a result of the elections, the League's status became unchallengeable which inevitably culminated in the establishment of Pakistan. Here I must record that the Quaid-i-Azam having once appointed the Parliamentary Board in exercise of the authority vested in him by the Session of the All-India Muslim League, never interfered in its work and thus showed a high sense of propriety and integrity for which he was justly famed.

The Quaid-i-Azam always gave the widest latitude for discussion at meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League and heard with patience all the points of view and arguments put forward. He had a way of clinching the issue at the end of discussion. I recall an incident from the meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council called in June 1946 to consider the three-tier constitutional plan suggested by the British Cabinet Mission. There was naturally difference of opinion among the members of the Council as to whether the Mission's Plan met the League's demand for Pakistan. In his speech winding up the debate the Quaid-i-Azam remarked, "We have not got Pakistan in name but it would prove to be a true Pakistan in practice and therefore it should not be rejected." This remark set at rest all doubts and mis-

givings and the Council passed the resolution accepting the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

After the Muslim League's entry into the Interim Government the leader of the Muslim League *bloc* Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, who was Finance Member, offered me membership of the Price Stabilisation Committee which was a responsible position and a wholetime job. I was willing to accept it. Meantime the Presidentship of the Council of State of which I was an elected member fell vacant. It was offered to Sir Mohammad Usman who, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, had done much to promote Muslim interests. The Secretary of the Legislative Department, Sir George Spence, raised objection to Sir Mohammad Usman's nomination contending that it would be a retrograde step as he was a nominated member of the Council of State. The choice for the Presidentship, therefore, fell on me, but I signified my consent only after the Quaid-i-Azam had been consulted and his approval obtained.

The last meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council was held at Karachi in December 1947. It was decided to bifurcate the organisation into two bodies—Pakistan Muslim League and Indian Muslim League. Some members wanted to appropriate all the League funds for the Pakistan Muslim League, but the Quaid-i-Azam who presided took a fair attitude; he opined that the funds should be equitably divided between the two bodies. It was the general desire of the members that the Quaid-i-Azam should continue to be President of the Pakistan Muslim League, but he declined on the ground that as Head of the State he had to look to the interests of all sections and could not associate himself with any political party. I can recall a similar situation in October 1946 when the Working Committee was considering the question of sending the League representatives to the Interim Government. The members of the Working Committee were keen and insistent that the Quaid-i-Azam should go in. His reply was characteristic. He said that if he joined the Interim Government, who would be there to support him outside the Government ; there might be no Muslim League left to support him. He, therefore, preferred to stay out so that as President of the League he could carry on the struggle for Pakistan to a successful issue. There was an eseential consistency in his attitude. In 1946 he did not accept governmental post since he preferred to work as President of the Muslim League. In 1947 he declined the offer of Presidentship of the Muslim League, for he was Head of the State. He did not believe in combining governmental authority with party office.

In conclusion, I may mention some of the desiderata for which the Quaid-i-Azam and his followers worked indefatigably, strenuously, selflessly. His ideal State would be one where Islamic values and mandates would be accepted and observed; where the Islamic concept of equality, fraternity, liberty and justice would find full play ; where no class, clan, or community would be allowed to have a monopoly of the good things of life; where equality of opportunity would be assured to all citizens of Pakistan, irrespective of religion, region or country of origin, where laws would not discriminate between the rich and the poor, between one region and the other ; where Pakistanis would feel that they are one nation and are citizens of one great country.

The Quaid-i-Azam had neither power nor pelf to command obedience. He had nothing to offer to the Muslims who were living in minority provinces, yet they were the vanguards who fought for Pakistan. The inspiring leadership and noble character of the Quaid bewitched the Muslims of the minority provinces.

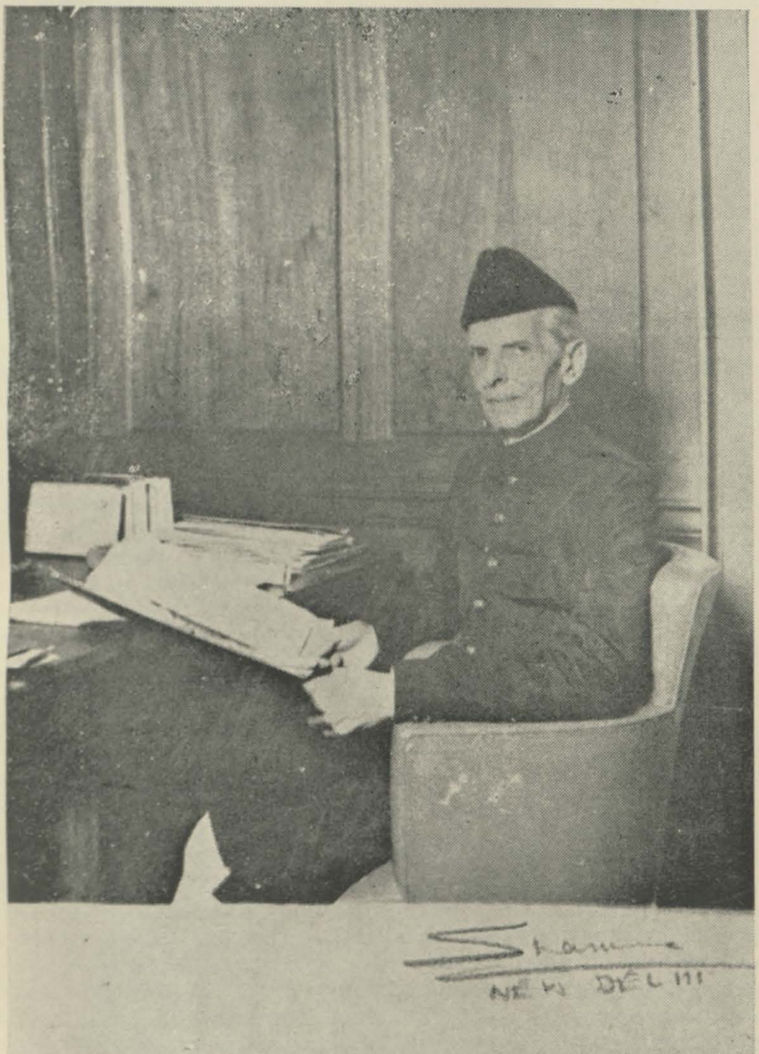
The Commander I Served Under

BY

SARDAR SHAUKAT HAYAT KHAN

[Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan was a commissioned officer in the Indian Army and saw field service in World War II. On the death of his father the late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan in 1942 he resigned his commission, joined the Muslim League, was appointed as a Minister in the Punjab Cabinet and was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly. A year later he broke with the Unionist Party and lost his Ministership for his devotion to the Muslim League's cause in 1944. Thereafter he worked zealously to strengthen the Muslim League organisation which ultimately brought down the Unionist Ministry and led to the emergence of Pakistan in 1947. He was member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly from 1946 to 1949 and of the Constituent Assembly from 1947 to 1954. He is now General Secretary of the Pakistan (Councillist) Muslim League.]

My father, the late lamented Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, died suddenly of heart failure in December 1942. I was asked to resign from the Army and join the Punjab Cabinet. On my appointment as a Minister I had to get myself elected to the Provincial Assembly within a stipulated period. I applied for the Muslim League ticket. I was advised to go to Delhi and see the Quaid-i-Azam before I was awarded the ticket. When I was ushered into his study in his New Delhi home I found him engrossed in studying files. For some moments he went on reading papers and I felt awkward. He then turned to me and said, "Young man, I do not award tickets for election, you have to go to the Parliamentary Board". I replied, "Sir, I have not come to ask for the ticket. I have come to see what kind of commander I am going to serve under". My reply seemed to stimulate him. I had been allowed twenty minutes for the interview, but the talks went on for two and a half hours.



The Quaid in his study at 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

In his inimitable style the Quaid-i-Azam surveyed the background of events and causes which had led to the adoption of Pakistan as the Muslim League's creed. What he told me is briefly summarised as follows: "The Muslims ruled India for well-nigh a thousand years. But what is the position now? You can go round Delhi and see the descendants of Moghul Princes earning a miserable living by carrying earth-loads on their heads. The Muslims have been going down and down due to Hindu machination and discrimination under British rule. What will be the Muslims' lot in an independent United India with Hindus in absolute power? They will be just another class of pariahs occupying a status lower than even that of the Scheduled Castes. That is the economic aspect of the situation which makes it essential and indispensable for Muslims to seek their emancipation in the form of a separate independent State in regions of their majority. But that is not the whole object of the Pakistan Movement. The other and higher aspect of Pakistan is that it would be a base where we will be able to train and bring up Muslim intellectuals, educationists, economists, scientists, doctors, engineers, technicians, etc., who will work to bring about Islamic renaissance. They will spread over the Middle East and other Muslim countries to serve their co-religionists and create awakening among them. The entire belt of the Middle East will develop into a solid, cohesive *bloc*—a third *bloc*—which will be neither communistic nor capitalistic but truly socialistic based on the principles which characterised Caliph Umar's regime.

"This *bloc* will have three advantages. First, it will be sitting astride the entire line of communication between the West and Australia and other Eastern countries. Second, it will control the world's oil supplies. Third, it will control the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Moreover, it would be a buffer between East and West. This is the idealism which underlies the Pakistan Movement." I was astonished and deeply impressed by the high and inspiring vision displayed by the Quaid-i-Azam and I was more than convinced that here was a leader under whom I should be prepared to work, suffer and make every possible sacrifice. As I was taking leave the Quaid-i-Azam humorously asked me whether I was satisfied with my commander. I bowed and said, "Sir, I give you a soldier's word that I shall always stand by you, come what may." He patted me on the back and I departed, carrying with me an inspiration which sustains me to this day.

There is an impression that the Quaid-i-Azam did not tolerate difference of opinion and sought to impose his own views on

others. I can testify from my own experience that this is a wrong impression. The draft resolution was under discussion in the Subjects' Committee of the All-India Muslim League Legislators' Convention held at Delhi in April 1946. It demanded that the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in North-East and the Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan in North-West of India be constituted into a sovereign independent State. I pointed out that this proposal was not exactly in conformity with the principle of contiguous areas of Muslim majority. Some members tried to heckle me but the Quaid-i-Azam patiently listened to me. He adjourned the meeting, came towards me and asked me to go with him and join him at lunch. As the meal proceeded at his New Delhi home, 10, Aurangzeb Road, discussion started on the point I had raised. Some Muslim League leaders present at the lunch made light of my remarks but the Quaid-i-Azam said there was weight in my objection. Then turning to me he explained in his characteristically persuasive style: "Shaukat, I am a Khoja and Gandhi is a bania I understand him. If I ask for 20 annas I may get 12 annas. But if I start by asking for 16 annas I will end by getting only 4 annas. So you see the point. We have to press for the inclusion of six undivided provinces in Pakistan." This line of argument and the way the Quaid-i-Azam put it completely disarmed me. I said, "Sir, I am convinced."

The Quaid-i-Azam was believed to be an unemotional and reserved man. It is true he did not exhibit emotionalism. But it would be wrong to say that he was incapable of emotional reactions. He had so disciplined himself that he had full control over his emotions and he thought over problems coolly and dispassionately. But he was certainly moved by the suffering of innocent humanity. Twice I saw his eyes almost brimming over with tears. I happened to meet him after the massacre of the Muslims in Bihar. As he spoke of the atrocities and brutalities inflicted on the Muslims of Bihar his voice was choked with emotion and tears seemed to be welling up in his eyes. His whole attention at the time was concentrated on devising ways and means for affording succour and relief to the persecuted Muslims of Bihar. The second occasion when I saw him in a similar state was his visit to Lahore at the time of influx of uprooted and tormented refugees from India. When I met him I could see that he was deeply affected by the woes of the Muslims in East Punjab and Delhi. He told me in a sorrowful voice: "Shaukat, I could never imagine that the Hindu could be so treacherous and so depraved as to slaughter innocent men, women and even children." But he quickly controlled himself.

Knowing that the nation looked to him for light and guidance in that dark hour, he addressed a mammoth gathering at the University grounds and his speech rallied the people and revived the national morale at a time when it appeared to be on the verge of collapse.

I was a Minister in the Punjab Cabinet headed by Malik Khizer Hayat Khan Tawana. Unlike the other Muslim Ministers, I, true to my allegiance to the Muslim League, spoke openly and forthrightly in favour of the national organisation and Pakistan. This was perhaps too much for the Unionists and their British patrons to stomach. They, therefore, manoeuvred to push me out of the Ministry on false and unproved charges against all canons of parliamentary government in April 1944. This coincided with the breakdown of the Quaid-i-Azam's negotiations with Malik Khizer Hayat Khan on the question of the clarification of the political allegiance of the Muslim League members of the Assembly and restoration of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party to its rightful position. The Quaid-i-Azam was going to Sialkot to attend the Provincial Muslim League Conference. Learning that I had fallen ill with high fever he paid a surprise visit to my house and asked me, "Are you worried ?" I said, "No Sir, I am not worried, I have only got temperature." Then he consoled my wife saying, "Remember, your husband has made a sacrifice for the nation. It will not go in vain." My wife and I were deeply touched by the gracious concern shown by the Quaid-i-Azam.

He had a genuine affection for the youth of the nation whom he considered his main asset. The young workers and students had ready access to him. However busy he might be, he always found time to receive them, discuss things with them and give them necessary guidance. Whenever I made a request for interview it was immediately granted and it was not merely interview; I was almost invariably asked to have meals with him. At these meetings the human aspect of the great Quaid's personality was in evidence. He was a fascinating conversationalist. It was a treat to listen to his delightful talk. I always came back inspired from these meetings with my knowledge increased and spirits heightened.

The Punjab Muslim League launched a large-scale civil disobedience movement in January-February 1947 to resist the Congress-Unionist Government's provocative attack on the Muslim League organization and its National Guards and to protest against the suppression of civil liberties in the province. The movement surprised everyone by its disciplined and peaceful

character despite provocations by the Government. The sacrifices of the Muslims of the Punjab did not go in vain. We emerged successful.

The Khizer Ministry toppled down and the province was rid of the Congress-Unionist combine. Nawab Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot, Mian Iftikharuddin and I went to see the Quaid-i-Azam at his New Delhi home. As he learnt of our arrival he did not wait for us to be ushered into his study as was the usual practice but rushed out and warmly greeted us. Embracing each one of us which again was not his practice, he said, "Well done, Punjab." The expression of his joy was unfeigned and unmistakeable.

After the Muslim League's victory in the General Elections of 1946 I went to see him. He said, "Today I am going to give you an unusual advice. Leave politics for the time being and make some money." I was taken aback. I replied, "Sir, how can I do it when the struggle for Pakistan has just entered the decisive stage." In his usual affectionate style he explained his point thus: "Listen to me. I treat you as my son. Make your pile and then serve the people. They listen to the clink of silver in your pocket, otherwise you are down and out." He was not content to give advice. Picking up the telephone he rang up Sir Azizul Haq who was Commerce Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council at the time and said, "I am sending Shaukat Hayat to you. Help him." This too was extraordinary, for the Quaid was not given to recommending people. Prodded by him, I went to see Sir Azizul Haq who kindly did what he could to help me. It is another matter that owing to my inexperience and impetuosity I could not benefit from the help.

The Council of the All-India Muslim League was holding its last important session in New Delhi in June 1946 to consider the partition plan. The Khaksars attempted to raid the meeting which was taking place in a hall upstairs. There was disorder for some time and members were seen running here and there. The Quaid-i-Azam sat calm and unperturbed on the dais. I went and sat on the dais near the presidential table. I had a revolver in my pocket. The Quaid asked me why I was sitting there. I said, "Sir, there is a reason for my sitting here. Before they come here at least seven of them will be down." The Quaid smiled, for he understood what I meant. I affirm that I was quite serious in my resolve. I would have done anything to protect my Quaid. The situation in the meantime had been brought completely under control by Muslim League National Guards,

The Quaid-i-Azam as I Saw Him

BY

FAZL-UR-RAHMAN

[Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman was educated at Dacca University where he took the M.A. and B.L. degrees. He started legal practice in 1934 and began to take part in public life. He was a member of the Court and Executive Council of Dacca University from 1933 to 1947. He was elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1937 and again in 1946 from the Dacca University constituency. He was a member of the Working Committee of Bengal Provincial Muslim League from its inception in 1937 and also of the Council of the All-India Muslim League till 1947. He was Chief Whip of the Government party led by Khwaja Nazim-ud-Din in 1941. In the Muslim League Ministry formed in 1946 Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman was Revenue Minister. On the establishment of Pakistan he was appointed as a Minister in the first Cabinet and continued to serve as a Minister till 1953 and again for a short period in 1957 holding charge of the portfolios of Interior, Education, Information and Broadcasting, Refugees and Rehabilitation, Commerce, Industry, Economic Affairs from time to time. He was a member of the first Constituent Assembly 1947-54 and also of the second Constituent Assembly 1955-58. He is Founder President of Pakistan Historical Society which has produced several volumes on the Muslim Freedom Movement.]

Political life in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was entering upon a new phase promising new openings and prospects with the introduction of the Government of India Act, 1935. Elections to the Provincial Assemblies under the Act were going to be held early in 1937. Political activity, therefore, went into full swing in 1936. The Muslims till that time had not functioned as a united organised party in the parliamentary field. For the first time the All-India Muslim League at its session at

Bombay in April 1936 decided to contest the elections as a party and authorised its President Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah to form Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards of select candidates and conduct the elections. He made it his mission to bring about unity in Muslim ranks and impress on the need of contesting elections under the banner of the Muslim League, so that they could take due advantage of whatever amount of political power had been transferred to Indian hands under the Act and thus promote the interests and well-being of the Muslims along with those of the other elements of the Indian body politic.

In Bengal the leading lights of Muslim public life were Khwaja Nazimuddin, Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, Mr. A. K. Fazl-ul-Haq, Sir A. F. Rahman, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Nawab K.G.M. Faruqui, Sir Abdur Rahim, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi and Nawab Musharraf Husain. They represented the aristocracy and the liberal professions. In the course of his tour of the provinces Mr. Jinnah came to Calcutta at the invitation of the Muslim leaders, addressed a meeting at the Town Hall and that was the first time I saw and heard him. In a closely reasoned speech he explained the political situation and the significance of the coming elections, especially their bearing on the future of the Muslims in the sub-continent and made an eloquent and earnest plea for forging unity in Muslim ranks. His efforts to bring about complete unity were not immediately successful, but the leaders of the United Muslim Party like Khwaja Nazimuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy, Nawab Musharraf Husain, Sir A. F. Rahman and Nawab Habibullah responded to Mr. Jinnah's appeal and agreed to merge their party in the Muslim League and contest elections under the League's Parliamentary Board. There were some Muslim organisations in districts; they were turned into District Muslim Leagues.

Unfortunately Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq and his followers at the last moment dissociated themselves from the move for unity. They demanded the inclusion of the following two items in the League's election manifesto: (1) Zamindari should be abolished without compensation, (2) compulsory free primary education should be introduced without any new taxation. The Muslim League's position was that it agreed to abolition of Zamindari but with compensation; it also approved compulsory free primary education but it believed that a tax or cess would have to be levied for the purpose. The League's stand was realistic and it could not adopt vote-catching slogans which it knew could not be implemented. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq thereupon set up his own Krishak Proja Party. There were thus two groups fighting the

elections—Muslim League and Krishak Proja Party. Besides, there were independents. Considering the short time at its disposal and its inadequate organisation the Muslim League did not do badly in the elections. The breakdown of the results was as follows :

Muslim League	40
Krishak Proja	38
Independents (individually)	41
Total	119

Certain forces were working for unity all the time. Mr. Jinnah's plea was slowly having its effect. After the elections there was again a move for reuniting the various groups, for it was realised that without such unity the Muslims could not take advantage of their strength in the Assembly. Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq was persuaded to join the Muslim League along with his followers. In the interest of unity the members elected on the Muslim League ticket together with Mr. Haq's followers and many independent members who also joined the Muslim League totalling 112 agreed to accept Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq as leader of the Muslim League party. A Ministry was formed with Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq as Chief Minister.

In spite of the discouraging response by politicians to his mission in many of the provinces, Mr. Jinnah knew that the hearts of the Muslims in general were pulsating with a desire for unity. Therein lies his greatness. Apparently everything was against him but he had the vision and courage to assume the leadership of the Muslim nation and give direction to its urges. In his speech, in his manner of putting things, in his analysis of facts, in his grasp of realities I could see that he was the man of destiny. Apparently Mr. Jinnah's mission to Calcutta was a failure but it set in motion forces which eventually succeeded in bringing the majority of Muslims on one platform.

If a man is sincerely and whole-heartedly devoted to a cause he must succeed—this is evident from Mr. Jinnah's example. He was not a demagogue or rabble-rouser ; he did not play on sentiments. He appealed to the intellect, not to emotions. He intuitively knew the mind of the Muslim masses. He had the knack of putting across the mind and feeling of the Muslim people with clarity and force. He knew the public opinion ; he also led the public opinion on right lines. Therein lies his distinction as compared with other leaders. He made a reasoned appeal and won the people over to his point of view.

He had faith in his mission and he also had confidence in his people. He felt confident that if he faithfully advocated and espoused the cause of the people they would respond to his appeal and support him. Whether the people were illiterate or educated, prejudiced or not, it did not matter. The unlimited faith in himself, in his cause, and in his people saved him from being a demagogue and spared him much unnecessary botheration.

The Quaid-i-Azam knew what action should be taken and when. If he knew that a particular step was right he took it. It did not matter who was affected and what was his status. He took action only in the furtherance of the cause he was espousing and not from any personal consideration.

In November 1941 after the Defence Covncil episode in which Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq had at first resigned from the Council as well as the Muslim League and had then withdrawn his resignation from the League he appeared to be at the height of his power and influence. It led him again to flout the Quaid-i-Azam and let down the League by joining hands with the Hindu Mahasabha leaders. Many of the League leaders were afraid of advising any disciplinary action against Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq. The Quaid-i-Azam, however, did not hesitate to expel Mr. Haq from the Muslim League, because he had no doubt that the people would support him if they came to know the reasons of the action taken by him. This was proved at the session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference held at Serajganj on 15 February 1942.

Lakhs of people from every part of Bengal gathered at the sub-divisional headquarter, knowing full well that they would be faced with great inconvenience and would have to spend the night under the sky. The Quaid-i-Azam in the course of his speech at the Conference exposed the claims of Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq and challenged him to come out in the open and face the people, instead of trying to bolster his Government by offering Ministerships and Parliamentary Secretaryships to members of the Assembly and corrupting administrative and legal machinery. The Quaid-i-Azam's speech went deep into the hearts of the people and there was a mighty upsurge of popular feeling in favour of the Muslim League. Soon God gave two chances to the Muslims of Bengal to prove to the hilt that Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq had forfeited their confidence and that the Muslim League was their only representative organisation. There were by-elections in Natore (Rajshahi) and Balurghat (Dinajpur District) both of which were won by the Muslim League against Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq's

nominees by huge majorities, in spite of the fact that they had to contend against all sorts of official interference and misuse of governmental authority. Mr. Haq's nominees forfeited their securities. It was a complete vindication of the stand taken by the Quaid-i-Azam and an unmistakable expression of confidence in his leadership and support for the Muslim League.

Mr. Haq had challenged that Bengal would reject Mr. Jinnah. The people of Bengal, however, made it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that they stood behind Mr. Jinnah and had full faith in his leadership and policy.

As Head of a Ministry which depended for its existence on the support of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Hindu Congress and the blessing of the British authorities Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq became more and more estranged from Muslim Bengal. To please the British Government he again joined the Defence Council from which he had resigned a few months earlier. In his characteristic style the Quaid-i-Azam referred to this event in his speech at the session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation at Nagpur in December 1941 in the following words: "It was by virtue of Mr. Haq being the Premier, Lord Linlithgow announced, that the latter will now have the honour of the support of this great Premier who will now be, as Premier of Bengal a member of this so-called National Defence Council. The Congress is supporting him! Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Haq to Lord Linlithgow. I make another New Year's gift of the Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of the Muslims."

Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq continued to lose popular support. The pressure of Muslim public opinion in Bengal at last compelled Mr. Haq to resign from the Premiership in April 1943 and Khwaja Nazimud-din as leader of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party formed the Ministry. Muslim Bengal heaved a sigh of relief at being delivered from a Ministry under which they had been made to suffer all manner of harassment and persecution. The Muslim feeling all over the country was vividly expressed by the Quaid-i-Azam in his presidential address at the session of the All-India Muslim League at Delhi in April 1943 as follows: "We have gone through the crucible of fire in Bengal. And today Fazl-ul-Haq is no more and I hope for the rest of his life he will be no more. He often said that if he were a hindrance he was willing to go. But he never went. I say with all due deliberation and all responsibility that he was not only

a hindrance but a curse to the politics of Bengal . . . . He has met his Waterloo. Let him now remain in St. Helena and repent for the rest of his life and pray to God so that he may forgive his sins. Bengal has shown that there is no room for duplicity." In achieving for the Muslims of Bengal their rightful place in the governance of the province the Muslim youth played a worthy part, as the Quaid-i-Azam recognised : "In this I give a very large share of the credit to the Muslim youth of Bengal who stood the racket."

From this stage onwards the Muslim League in Bengal, as in all other provinces moved from strength to strength so much so that he was in a position boldly to assert at the session of the All-India Muslim League at Karachi in December 1943 that "the only way, the only honest way, for Great Britain is to divide and quit." With his unerring foresight the Quaid-i-Azam had realised that the only feasible course to bring real freedom to the Hindus as well as the Muslims was to divide the sub-continent into two States. That he was right and others who harped on an illusory unity were wrong, was proved four years latter when the British had to 'divide' the sub-continent and 'quit'.

By the winter of 1945 when the holding of general elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies was announced the Muslim League under the Quaid-i-Azam's direction had grown into a mighty organisation which could face any combination of hostile forces. The League captured cent per cent Muslim seats in the Central Assembly. Its performance in the elections to the Provincial Assemblies which were generally treated as a kind of referendum on the question of Pakistan was equally impressive. In Bengal all the anti-Muslim League forces including the Congressite Muslims, the Nationalists, and Mr. Haq's followers were completely routed. Mr. Haq himself got elected but his party was wiped out. The League won 113 out of 119 Muslim seats as also some seats in the special constituencies like Universities, Chambers of Commerce and Labour. The League's phenomenal victory which paved the way to the establishment of Pakistan was undoubtedly an affirmation of Muslim India's implicit faith and trust in the Quaid-i-Azam and his leadership. He on his part had unlimited faith in his mission and in his people which made him what he was—the uncrowned King of Muslim India.

I had the good fortune of working under the direct guidance of the Quaid-i-Azam as a Minister in the first Pakistan Cabinet headed by the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and as such I had opportunities of observing the Quaid at close quarters. He had been an outstanding statesman, politician and legislator for

nearly forty years but he had not been directly associated with any administration. It was a supreme sense of duty and devotion to the people's cause which led him to accept the heavy and onerous burden of responsibility as Governor-General of the new-born dominion of Pakistan. He knew that the interests of the country demanded and the people expected that he should take upon himself the responsibility of directing the affairs of the country at the highest level. The tremendous fight for winning a homeland for the Muslims had put a severe strain on his none too robust health. He had led his people victoriously to their goal and had earned a well-deserved rest. But he was not the man to rest. He was not going to disappoint his people. He was ready and willing to spend the last ounce of his energy to consolidate the new State by putting it on a sound footing which would withstand the ravages of time and unfavourable circumstances.

The division of Pakistan into two territorial blocs separated by over 1200 miles of alien territory created a special problem. The two blocs are inhabited by people who, though sharing fundamental affinities of Islamic faith, tradition and culture, differ in point of language, customs, habits, food, ways of living, etc. The situation at the start called for a leadership which could inspire equal confidence in the people of the two wings and weld them together into one solid whole. Such leadership could only be provided by the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah who, by virtue of having led the common struggle for freedom, symbolised their deepest hopes, yearnings, and aspirations for a fuller and richer life as a sovereign, independent, united nation. He alone could inspire hope in moments of despair and galvanise the people to a mighty concerted effort to overcome the odds and difficulties with which their path in the beginning was beset. The Quaid-i-Azam knew that the people needed him. He, therefore, sacrificed all chances of recovery of his health and assumed the responsibility of piloting the ship of the State through rough and stormy waters. But he was not arrogant. He was, by temperament, constitutional. In all humility, he told the members of the Cabinet at their first informal meeting on the 15 August 1947: "Well gentlemen, I am prepared to function as a constitutional Governor-General but I shall have to announce it to my people that I am so." His Ministers were moved by this generous gesture and they said: "You will be constitutional Governor-General but you will naturally be exercising the powers inherent in you as the Father of the Nation." The Quaid-i-Azam was satisfied with this assurance and during the few months that he lived after the establish-

ment of Pakistan he guided the Cabinet and the nation with unexampled ability, sagacity, farsightedness, sympathy, integrity and selflessness. At the same time he never deviated from democratic conventions and constitutional propriety.

I will cite a few instances of the superb guidance provided by the Quaid-i-Azam. In the forward areas of the North-West Frontier Province the British had always maintained large garrisons in order to keep the turbulent tribesmen in check. The Quaid-i-Azam tackled the problem of forward areas with vision and wisdom. Under his guidance and direction the first act of the Pakistan Cabinet was to order withdrawal of the garrisons. It was an act of faith which was fully justified by the tribesmen's loyalty to Pakistan under trying circumstances. Despite his frail physique and ill-health the Quaid-i-Azam undertook long and strenuous journeys to the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and directly contacted the tribesmen. His speeches and assurances made them happy and contented. He told them, "The British have gone, it is now your country and State." They came to realise that it was their responsibility to preserve the integrity and independence of Pakistan of which they were proud citizens. How right he was in trusting the Pathans has been proved by subsequent events. They have stood solidly by Pakistan and are a source of strength to it.

Soon after partition the Quaid-i-Azam had to move his headquarters to Lahore to give his personal attention to the grave situation created by the unprecedented influx of refugees from India, uprooted and ruined. They came in such miserable conditions of physical distress and mental anguish that they represented a veritable powder keg which might have exploded Pakistan. But the Quaid-i-Azam handled the situation with such courage and competence that the refugees' hearts were filled with hope and determination and their faith in the new country was kindled. Instead of being a powder keg they became a valued element and a source of strength to Pakistan. His soul-stirring speeches at Lahore revived the people's faith in their destiny and their country. I will quote just one extract from his speech which will always be a source of inspiration to us: "Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers? You have only to develop the spirit of 'Mujahids', you are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character

and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory." And the following heart-warming words will always have a relevance to the maintenance of the nation's morale: "Keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause."

Nothing escaped the Quaid's attention. He was alive to the urgent problems facing Pakistan and was keen to tackle them within his lifetime. He realised that Pakistan could not depend on the Reserve Bank of India for its economic and fiscal policies and it had to have its own Reserve or State Bank. Under his direction the State Bank of Pakistan was organised earlier than the contemplated date. His health had declined. But public duty to him was more important than personal health or comfort. Against medical advice he came to Karachi from Ziarat in sweltering heat to inaugurate the State Bank of Pakistan. In his words the Bank symbolised "the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere." It was in the course of his speech at the inaugural ceremony that the Quaid-i-Azam stressed the need of evolving an economic system based on Islamic concepts of social justice and visualised Pakistan's mission in this respect as follows: "The economic system of the West has created almost insoluble problems for humanity and to many of us it appears that only a miracle can save it from the disaster that is now facing the world. . . . The adoption of Western economic theory and practice will not help us in achieving our goal of creating a happy and contented people. We must work out our destiny in our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will, thereby, be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind."

This was his last public act performed only three months before his death. It proves that he always placed the nation above self. It also shows his foresight. He could see the weak spots in the structure of Pakistan and he was anxious to rectify and strengthen them while he lived. It seems he had a premonition about his approaching death and he considered it his duty to leave Pakistan on reasonably strong foundations to posterity. For this noble purpose he was prepared to sacrifice his health and life as he eventually did. This again shows why he assumed, even at the risk of being misunderstood, the onerous

burden of Headship of State not merely as constitutional Governor-General but Father of the Nation with all the implications involved in the phrase. Such dedicated service and profound concern for the infant State could not be expected from any other person, least of all from a foreigner as Joint Governor-General of India and Pakistan.

Every part of Pakistan was close to the Quaid-i-Azam's heart. When he learnt that the people of East Pakistan had a feeling of isolation he made up his mind to visit the province in spite of his weak health. In those days there were no fast and comfortable means of air transport. The Quaid travelled in an old Dakota which took ten hours to reach Dacca. As a leader with democratic instincts he never flinched from direct contact with the people, and even violent agitations were tackled by him by direct appeal to the reason and good sense of the people. He addressed a number of record public gatherings and also spoke over the Radio. In his speeches which went deep into the hearts of the people he dealt with the numerous problems faced by East Pakistan and succeeded in turning public thought and feeling into constructive channels. He assuaged the inflamed feelings and stabilised the situation enabling the people of East Pakistan to devote their attention to the task of building up the life of the province. He told them : "Do not feel isolated. Many people have spoken to me that East Bengal feels isolated from the rest of Pakistan. No doubt there is a great distance separating the East from the West Pakistan ; no doubt, there are difficulties ; but I tell you that we fully know and realise the importance of Dacca and East Bengal. I have only come here for a week or ten days this time but in order to discharge my duty as Head of the State I may have to come here and stay for days, for weeks, and similarly the Pakistan Ministers must establish closer contact."

It was during his visit to East Pakistan that the Quaid-i-Azam explained the *raison d'etre* of the creation of Pakistan and also expounded its ideal and objective in words which have become classic. He observed : "You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Mussulmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not controversial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs

according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilisation. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this subcontinent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system. . . . It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government but the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State."

The Quaid-i-Azam realised the urgency and vastness of the problems that Pakistan faced on coming into being. He, therefore, immediately formed an Emergency Cabinet consisting of five members of whom I had the honour to be one. It was to meet every day at 9 a.m. without notice at the residence of the Quaid-i-Azam and its sessions continued till 1 and sometimes 2 p.m. The Committee considered and decided questions arising out of the mass evictions of Muslims from India and other problems coming in the wake of creation of a new State. The Emergency Cabinet lasted for five months. In one of its meetings the financial position of the country was discussed and the Service Chiefs too were called in for consultation on the prospects of defence of Pakistan against possible designs of some neighbouring countries. A gloomy picture was drawn of the finances, and of the inadequacy of defences owing to paucity of funds. The Quaid-i-Azam, as was his wont, listened with great patience to the dark prognostications. The Ministers wore grim faces, when all of a sudden the Quaid-i-Azam pushed aside his chair, stood up and addressing a particular Minister said, "Mr——, no independent country goes down for want of finances. I shall fight for every inch of my country till I am bodily lifted and thrown into the Arabian Sea beyond." Saying this he left the meeting. The Ministers felt not only relieved but inspired and heartened to apply themselves to their respective tasks of nation-building and national defence with renewed confidence. This was perhaps the greatest quality of the Quaid-i-Azam; he filled others with his own indomitable will, courage and enthusiasm. Another outstanding feature of his character was that he was always amenable to reason. He did not impose his views on others. His manner of argument was so convincing

and appealing that others were almost invariably converted to his point of view.

Pakistan should derive inspiration in difficult moments from the Quaid-i-Azam's life example. It will never fail to supply us the proper answer to every problem and situation that we may face in the course of the struggle for maintenance and consolidation of freedom. The Quaid's soul will feel happy only when we have built Pakistan into the State of his dream—"a State in which we could live and breathe as free men and which we could develop according to our own lights and culture and where principles of Islamic social justice could find free play."

The Leader I Knew Best

BY

HATIM A. ALVI

[Mr. Hatim A. Alavi is one of the veteran figures of the freedom movement in the sub-continent. He began to take interest in public affairs and political activities at an early age. He has been prominent in the public life of Karachi and was Mayor of Karachi Municipal Corporation. He played an active part in the Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movements of 1920-22. He was also a member of the Congress till 1928 when he left it because of its attitude towards the Muslims. Mr. Alavi was among the first who wholeheartedly supported the Quaid-i-Azam in his efforts to forge Muslim unity and made a valuable contribution to the building up of the Muslim League organisation from 1937 onwards. As a leading businessman and industrialist Mr. Alavi has also assisted in the growth of Pakistan's economy. He was a member of the Pakistan delegation to the Conference on Sterling Balances in England in 1948 and is a Director of the State Bank of Pakistan.]

During the turbulent days of the Non-Co-operation Movement I, like many other young men, was an ardent follower of the Indian National Congress, for the object before us was emancipation from alien rule and the Congress seemed to symbolise this over-powering urge. As one of the delegates from Sind I attended the epoch-making session of the Congress at Nagpur in December 1920. This session was a turning point both in the freedom movement and the history of the Congress itself. It may truly be regarded as the Gandhi session, for he overshadowed it not only in the political but also in a physical and corporal sense. It was for the first time that the Congress session was held in a huge *pandal* and the vast assemblage consisted of white *khaddar*-clad leaders and delegates numbering not less than 50,000. They wore Gandhi caps. It was not only

that Gandhi's ideas of non-co-operation and boycott prevailed, his personality reflected itself in the bearing and disposition of the people attending the session.

We were in for a surprise. In the vast *khaddar*-clad gathering there, however, appeared one man in black suit and red Turkish cap. It was Mohammad Ali Jinnah. As the discussion on the non-co-operation resolution proceeded Mr. Jinnah rose to oppose it, much to the astonishment of the delegates. He mounted the rostrum and, in the course of his eloquent and cogently reasoned speech as distinct from the impassioned orations of other leaders, he referred to Gandhi as "Mr. Gandhi". The audience roared with disapproval : "No, Mahatma Gandhi." Undeterred, Mr. Jinnah persisted in saying Mr. Gandhi and retorted, "I am not going to be dictated in the choice of my language." At length the audience yielded and quietened down. The incident illustrated a wonderful quality of Mr. Jinnah's character he had courage and strength of conviction and no power could make him change his conviction against his judgment.

Briefly, Mr. Jinnah's stand was that a sort of religious frenzy had got hold of Indian political activity and would ultimately lead the country to confusion and would do more harm than good to the Indians. He stood for protest and demonstration of public disapproval, with all its force, of British policies, but he did not agree with the methods proposed. He was honestly of opinion that Gandhi was leading India in the wrong direction and wished there had been a real political movement based on the fire that burnt in the heart of every Indian. He felt the non-co-operation programme was based on the doctrine of soul force, having for its execution destructive methods which did not take account of human nature and which might slip out of control at any time.[1] He was particularly opposed to the boycott of schools and colleges, for he could not contemplate how the movement could last if all the boys were withdrawn from schools and colleges without substituting the existing educational institutions with national ones.

I was so impressed by Mr. Jinnah's personality that after the Nagpur Session I went to Bombay and sought an interview with him. Even before the Nagpur incident I had thought highly of Mr. Jinnah. In my younger days I had been fond of fashion and had a weakness for well-tailored clothes. I admired Mr. Jinnah as one of the best dressed men of his time, notable for his personal charm, refinement, elegance and straightforwardness.

1. As it actually did at Chauri Chaura in district Gorakhpur.

He was kind enough to have a free and frank discussion with a young man, a novice in politics. In the exuberance of my youthful enthusiasm I adhered to my view that the Congress movement should be followed for the attainment of freedom, but I gathered the impression that Mr. Jinnah was a man of great integrity, intellectual honesty, strength of character and political sagacity.

In spite of difference of political opinion my respect and regard for Mr. Jinnah continued to grow. I often met him and got to know him more intimately. I found that, unlike others, Mr. Jinnah not only tolerated but respected honest difference of opinion and was always willing to discuss matters freely and frankly with anyone who was sincere in his desire to render national service, irrespective of his position or status. This was a sign of true greatness. In 1929 Mr. Jinnah came to Sind to plead Pir of Pagaro's case at Sukkur. He appeared in the court from Monday to Friday but came down to Karachi to spend Saturdays and Sundays as holidays. He honoured me by staying at my house as my guest during these holidays. By this time I had ceased to be a member of the Congress, though I still retained a sort of mental association with it. In the course of discussions on the politics of the country Mr. Jinnah explained the political developments, particularly the Congress attitude towards the Muslims, but never tried to influence me to change my stand against my conviction. He told me, "Don't violate your conscience, but I can tell you this much—the Congress does not wish freedom for the Muslims. One day you will understand." Some time after this I underwent a genuine change-over and came to the same conclusion as Mr. Jinnah with his political foresight had done much earlier.

The Bombay Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1936 had charged Mr. Jinnah with the responsibility of forming Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards for the purpose of contesting elections to the Provincial Assemblies which were going to be held early in 1937. He wrote to me that he would be visiting Sind and asked me to convene a meeting of leading Muslims of Sind in this connection. As a preliminary to such consultations I proposed to arrange a dinner in honour of Mr. Jinnah and approached a number of prominent Muslims of Karachi to join as hosts. The extent of demoralisation of the Muslim public men in those days can be imagined from the fact that none of them was willing to allow his name to be included in the list of hosts as they thought it would annoy the Hindus and prejudice their chances of election. Ultimately I alone

issued invitations for the dinner which, of course, was attended by prominent Muslim and Hindu citizens.

In spite of his best efforts Mr. Jinnah could not convince the Muslim politicians of Sind of the need of coming under the Muslim League's banner and contesting election on its ticket. Their outlook was so narrow and selfish that they could think only in terms of the immediate prospects of their individual election and had no conception of the great and vital issues with which Muslim India was going to be faced. They did not listen to the sane and selfless advice of the man who had made the separation of Sind from Bombay one of the main planks of his political programme and had been mainly responsible for winning for Sind the status of a self-governing province. The result was that the Muslim League could win no seat in the elections and the Muslims became divided into factions and groups. The split in the Muslim ranks and Hindu intrigues threw the province into political instability which worked to the disadvantage of the Muslim majority.

Mr. Jinnah, however, persisted in his sincere efforts to arouse political consciousness among the Muslims and promote unity in their ranks. Whatever might be the attitude of the individual politicians the Muslim public responded to Mr. Jinnah's call and began to rally under his banner. So phenomenal was the change in the trend of the Muslim body politic that within two years the same politicians who had fought shy of associating with the Muslim League now began to flock round Mr. Jinnah. Sind too was affected by the change. When the Muslim League had failed to win over any section of the Muslim politicians in Sind I, with Mr. Jinnah's permission, joined the United Muslim Party which by temper and programme was nearest to the Muslim League. Within the Party I worked to bring it gradually into the folds of the Muslim League. These efforts succeeded and by 1938 the Muslim League in Sind had become sufficiently strong to call a Provincial Conference at Karachi in the month of October 1938. I was then Mayor of Karachi and was among those who organised the Conference. Mr. Jinnah as President-elect of the Conference was, on arrival in Karachi, accorded a magnificent reception and taken out in a procession of unprecedented size and splendour. Such popular enthusiasm for the Muslim League was witnessed for the first time in a Muslim majority province.

The resolution passed at the Conference was very significant as it expressed in clear terms the great change that had come over Muslim political thinking. In view of its importance I may here

reproduce some excerpts from the resolution : "Whereas the evolution of a single united India and united Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and common ideals being impossible of realisation on account of the caste-ridden mentality and anti-Muslim policy of the majority community and also on account of acute differences of religion, language, script, culture, social laws and outlook on life of the two major communities and even of race in certain parts, this Conference considers it absolutely essential in the interests of an abiding peace of the vast Indian continent and in the interests of unhampered cultural development, economic and social betterment and political self-determination of the two nations, known as Hindus and Muslims, to recommend to the All-India Muslim League to review and revise the entire question of what should be suitable constitution for India which will secure honourable and legitimate status due to them, and that this Conference recommends to the All-India Muslim League to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence." It was for the first time that a voice was raised from the platform of the Muslim League referring to Hindus and Muslims as separate nations and pointing the way to the creation of a separate Muslim State.

After the resuscitation of the Muslim League as a popular mass organisation in 1937 under Mr. Jinnah's leadership there had been correspondence between him and Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders. In March 1938 it was reported in the Press that Gandhi would be going to Bombay to meet Mr. Jinnah about 25 April. Mr. Jinnah who was in Calcutta in connection with a case then received a telegram from Gandhiji dated 15 April as follows : "If on your return to Bombay you can break journey at Wardha for one day, you will spare me the strain of undertaking a journey to Bombay. I need some uninterrupted physical rest if possible. In any event, could Maulana Abul Kalam Azad accompany me at the interview ? Please write to Wardha which place I am reaching tomorrow." To this telegram Mr. Jinnah sent the following reply : "I am extremely sorry I am unable to change my programme now. I will receive you at Bombay on the 25th or thereafter as arranged. I would prefer to see you alone." When the telegrams appeared in the Press it seemed to me that Mr. Jinnah's attitude showed lack of courtesy. I ventured to write a letter to him in which I stated that courtesy is a part of the Muslim faith and his response to Gandhiji's request smacked of want of courtesy. I did not receive any reply to my letter. I thought I had offended Mr. Jinnah. However, some time later when I went to Bombay and sought an interview with him, I was asked to dinner. He showed

no sign of annoyance. After dinner he discussed the political situation and then explained at length why he had declined to go to Wardha. I reproduce here his words as far as I can recall them :

"Now about your Mahatma [he knew my weakness that I had a soft corner for Gandhi personally]. You people think that I am proud and vain, but believe me it is not so at all.

"Have you realised, Alvi, what are the weapons with which we are waging our political war against the Congress and against the British. We have no Press, we have no purse, and our platforms are extremely divided. The Congress has done everything to divide the Muslims and several groups, factions and leaderships have been created to fight the Muslims. You have Shias, Momins, Ahrars, Nationalists, Unionists and what not. We have not only to fight our open enemies but also some of our own people who have become easy instruments of the Congress. Our whole aim is to put up a robust and sound opposition to the Congress and bring all the Muslims on one sinlge platform and then negotiate with the British and others on the basis of a unified, powerful, strong Muslim front. In doing so, we have so far been very successful. Thank God. But we must maintain our pressure all the time and one of the ways of doing it is not only not to give any quarter to the Congress but not to even appear to be doing so. You are young and are often led into the belief that all that glitters is gold. Do you know what would have actually happened if I had halted at Wardha on my way to Bombay and called on Mr. Gandhi? I imagine I would have found him sitting on some raised wooden platform. He would have got up to greet me and while we were in the act of shaking hands, he from the height of his raised platform and I from the floor of his Ashram, a dozen photographers would have snapped that position and the next day all the newspapers would have published the photo making wild suggestions that I had called on Mr. Gandhi to seek a compromise with the Congress. The least that would have happened as a result of this propaganda would have been that all the Muslims whom we are trying to wean away from the Congress would feel like hanging with them a little more in the hope of getting their rewards from the Congress in case League-Congress compromise had been arrived at. There would have been other adverse effects too."

I confess I had not comprehended all the implications of Gandhi's request to Mr. Jinnah to visit him at Wardha. After hearing Mr. Jinnah I felt as if a curtain had been lifted off my eyes. I was completely convinced of the correctness of his

stand. There is no doubt that Mr. Jinnah by his example created a feeling of self-confidence and self-respect, even a sense of pride, among the Muslims. This feeling, indeed, proved to be a very valuable weapon in the fight for Muslim freedom.

In the last week of December 1943 the annual session of the All-India Muslim League which also happened to be its last open session was held in Karachi. By this time the League had reached a high peak of popularity and influence. The Quaid-i-Azam was accorded a memorable reception and was taken out in a three-mile long procession which in point of enthusiasm and grandeur exceeded all past political demonstrations in honour of any leader anywhere in India. The next day I met the Quaid-i-Azam. He said that the procession, indeed, had a great demonstrative value and the League's representative status was unchallengeable, but he posed the question: "Where do we go from here?" I told him in reply, "Sir, let us proceed on the basis that Pakistan is as good as established. Let a Planning Committee be appointed to chalk out a programme of social and economic development of the areas constituting Pakistan." The Quaid-i-Azam liked the idea and asked me to let him have a panel of names which I did. The main resolution passed at the session related to the need of preparing a plan of social and economic development and the Quaid-i-Azam was authorised to nominate the Planning Committee. I was one of its members. The Karachi Session thus injected reality and substance into the Pakistan movement.

In 1944 prolonged negotiations on the question of Pakistan took place between Gandhiji and the Quaid-i-Azam (Mr. Jinnah by this time had been universally hailed as the Quaid-i-Azam by the Muslims). The talks were held on the basis of a formula suggested by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari. This formula called for district-wise plebiscite in the Muslim-majority provinces. I wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam, pointing out the dangerous implications of the idea of district-wise plebiscite as, apart from its intrinsic demerits, it would result in the loss of Karachi District which had a non-Muslim majority, a fact not generally known at the time. The Quaid-i-Azam appreciated the timely information I had given him and firmly opposed the proposal of district-wise plebiscite.

After the Jinnah-Gandhi parleys were over I went to Bombay and complained to the Quaid-i-Azam that whereas Gandhi had had the help and assistance of the cream of Hindu intelligentsia gathered at Birla House, the Quaid-i-Azam had not availed himself of the advice and assistance of any of his colleagues in those

intricate negotiations. The Quaid's reply was again an eye-opener for me. He mentioned the names of persons whom he could have possibly asked for assistance and then went on to explain how each one of them would have come under the influence of someone close to the Congress and how they would have been a hindrance instead of being a help. They would have pressed him to compromise on the terms offered by Gandhi and half of his time would have been spent in trying to convince them as to why he was rejecting those terms. He would thus have been handicapped in carrying on the negotiations instead of concentrating all his time and energy in meeting and refuting Gandhi's arguments and subtleties. Again, I confess I was convinced that the Quaid-i-Azam was right in conducting the negotiations as he did. I admired the rare ingenuity and the unfailing resourcefulness and energy with which he fought the dialectical battle against an army of intellectuals assisting Gandhi and emerged successful.

I have studied a great deal of political history, but I make bold to assert that the Jinnah-Gandhi correspondence embodying the day-to-day progress of the talks, represents the highest water-mark of political and diplomatic exchanges, and there is not the slightest doubt that in the encounter the Quaid-i-Azam comes on top. Any impartial observer would be impressed by the Quaid-i-Azam's clean-cut logic, cogent reasoning, straight argumentation and clinching of issues as against the sinuous quibbling and attempts at evasion, prevarication and distortion indulged in by Gandhi. I am of opinion that the correspondence together with the Quaid-i-Azam's statements on the failure of the talks should be prescribed in the course of study for students of history and political science in our universities.

Another incident which revealed to me his true greatness relates to the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 1946. The scheme of a three-tier constitution proposed by the British Cobinet Delegation was to come up for consideration at a meeting of the Council of All-India Muslim League at Delhi on 6 June 1946 at Delhi. I had gone to Delhi to attend the meeting as a member of the Council from Sind. My personal view was that the Cabinet Mission's Plan did not concede the kind of Pakistan we had been fighting for. The Quaid-i-Azam got to know of my views and of my intention to oppose the motion for acceptance of the Plan at the Council meeting. Although I was not one of the top-ranking leaders and my opposition would not make any material difference to the decision on the motion, the Quaid-i-Azam kindly sent for me to his house, 10 Aurangzeb Road. He showed no dis-

pleasure over my intention to oppose the Plan. On the other hand, from 10-30 p.m. to 3 a.m. he listened to my objections and discussed threadbare all the implications of the Plan.

Considering his age and state of health and his heavy engagements in those days, I several times tried to get up and asked his permission to leave, for I told him that though I had genuine doubts my opposition was of the least significance. But he insisted on my staying and discussing all the pros and cons of the Plan. He explained to me in great detail the reasons and circumstances which had led him to recommend acceptance of the Plan. He told me that he appreciated honest difference of opinion and if he could convince an honest individual of his viewpoint by reason and argument he would not consider it a waste of time. I told him that though I was not fully convinced I would not, out of deference for him, oppose the Plan at the Council meeting. What he said in reply showed his magnanimity and true greatness. He said, "No, you are free to oppose. I will call upon you first to speak at tomorrow's meeting." Accordingly I led the opposition and at the end of the discussion three votes were cast against the motion which, however, was passed by a very large majority. This incident is a sufficient refutation of the oft-repeated but baseless charge that the Quaid-i-Azam was dictatorial in temper. He was a true democrat and reason was his strongest *forte.*

After the general elections to the Provincial Assemblies in February 1946 the Muslim League had been able to form a Ministry in Sind but its position was precarious, because, firstly, the Muslims had been allotted only 35 seats out of a total of 60 owing to the heavy weightage given to minorities, and, secondly, the League had been able to capture only 27 seats out of 35 owing to the last minute betrayal of a group of Muslim Leaguers. The Muslim League Ministry had only one-vote overall majority which at one stage was reduced to equality with the opposition thus creating a stalemate. The Constitution was suspended and fresh general elections were ordered. The Quaid-i-Azam had a soft corner for Sind and realised the importance of the existence of a stable Muslim League Ministry in the province to the vital negotiations for the final transfer of power and the establishment of Pakistan. He came down to Karachi to assist the Muslim League in making thorough preparations for the forthcoming elections with a view to pulling off a clear and stable majority in the Assembly. It was the month of Ramazan, i.e. August 1946. He sent for leaders of different groups and other aspirants for the Muslim League ticket and held consultations with them for

several days. I used to see him every day. He asked me whether I was fasting. On my saying "yes" he said he used to fast from his youth onwards but in view of his age and indifferent health he was unable to fast then.

One day I found him in a depressed and despondent mood contrary to his usual self. I felt concerned and anxiously asked him if there was anything the matter. He said, "Alavi, your leaders are a peculiar lot. They come to me every day. They discuss the situation with me and agree with my views and my advice. As soon as they go away they begin hobnobbing with the opponents of the Muslim League and pull in different directions. They also backbite one another and try to make me believe that everyone else is bad. I have pleaded with them for days on end to sink their differences and forge a united front, but they don't understand and won't come round. What am I to do with them? I have not had this experience in any other province. This makes me feel depressed." I said in reply, "Sir, excuse me, but if I tell you the truth it may hurt you." He said, "No, tell me what you feel." I said, "Sir, so far you have only been appealing to everyone to come into the League. You have not prescribed any criteria for being a member or an office bearer of the League. You have not asked for any service or sacrifice, the result being that the League is like a heterogeneous crowd and it is not possible to separate the chaff from the grain, the good from the bad. The time has come to rely on those who are prepared to make sacrifices." The Quaid-i-Azam thought awhile, smiled and sent for his Secretary whom he instructed to call a meeting of the leaders the same evening.

At the meeting the Quaid-i-Azam explained at length the issues involved in the ensuing elections and how the results were going to affect the destinies of Muslim India in the immediate future. He made such an earnest and impassioned appeal for unity and subordination of personal interests to the collective good that even the hard-boiled politicians were stirred. I saw tears in the eyes of several veterans and heard some of them actually sobbing. Syed Khair Shah was so moved that he ran towards the Quaid-i-Azam, caught his feet, declared that he was prepared to make any sacrifice at the behest of the Quaid-i-Azam and called upon others to do the same. The whole assembly signified assent with Syed Khair Shah's sentiments. The Quaid-i-Azam thereupon dictated a statement to his Secretary. Everyone present signed the statement pledging himself to abide by the Quaid-i-Azam's advice in regard to selection of candidates and conduct of the elections and to have nothing to do with any-



The Quaid with members of the Cabinet Mission
(*L to R*) Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Quaid, Mr. A.V. Alexander, Sir Stafford Cripps.

one who broke the pledge. This wonderful unity brought about by the Quaid-i-Azam resulted in cent per cent success of the Muslim League candidates. It facilitated the formation of a stable Muslim League Ministry in Sind which among other factors paved the way for the eventual emergence of Pakistan.

The Mystic Force that Created Pakistan

BY

HATIM A. ALAVI

The Messenger of Allah, may the peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, is authentically reported to have said : "All that is in the revealed Books is in the Quran and all that is in the Quran is in the Fatihah and all that is in the Fatihah is in Bismillah'ir Rahmani'r Rahim and all that is in Bismillah'ir Rahmani'r Rahim is in the letter Ba' which itself is contained in the point that is beneath it."

What is this Point ?—it may be asked. It cannot possibly be an intellectual abstraction nor could it be a mythical conception having regard to the exalted office of the author of this mystic saying.

It would be outside the scope of this brief article to dilate on this mystic point or attempt to show how throughout our glorious history Muslim soldiers and statesmen and scholars and sages and saints have been touched by this Point which transformed their individual lives affecting the destinies of the Muslim peoples in many ages and climes.

No one thinks of the Quaid-i-Azam as a mystic Educated in the West and after he had made his mark at the Bar, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a successful lawyer and a brilliant politician.

Not once or twice in our chequered history the Point has picked up only such men as its vehicles to realise its own unfathomable ends. In our own times, we have the example of Sa'd Pasha Zaghlol in Egypt and Mustafa Kamal Ataturk in Turkey. On the Indian sub-continent Mohammad Ali Jinnah blazed the trail, brought the chaotically disorganised Muslims inhabiting the Indian sub-continent on the platform of "Faith, Unity and Discipline" and founded an Islamic State for them.

There must be some factor not so visible on the surface that gave the dynamism to the movement for Pakistan. Men, women and children in large cities as well as in remote hamlets and villages responded to the call of the Quaid-i-Azam. It is difficult to resist a belief that there was some mystic bond between these people and their great leader. To illustrate this I, would just like to give one small incident of this relationship.

One Sunday morning in the spring of 1948 my bearer announced to me that a Pathan knife-grinder wanted to see me personally and would not take a No. I had papers to prepare for Pakistan's first ever foreign delegation, the Sterling Balances Delegation to the United Kingdom of which I was a member. When I pointed to the heaps of papers and files all around me, my servant said that the Pathan said that he would not leave the compound till he saw me.

Thinking the man may have some urgent need, I went out to see him. After preliminaries the knife-grinder explained that he wanted me to take him to the Quaid-i-Azam so that he could shake his hands. The man was at least 6′-8″ tall with a long white beard, shining eyes and clad in rustic Pathan garments. I was impressed by him. He told me that he had made several attempts to see the Quaid-i-Azam but had met with rebuffs everywhere and, on the suggestion of someone, had come to route this request through me and was confident that it would be met.

However, I made up my mind to dissuade this man from seeking to visit the Quaid-i-Azam. So, when he came to see me again demanding as to when I would be able to arrange the meeting, I engaged him in a long conversation. In measured tones the man told me, "All my life I have been searching for a true Momin and now I know that the Quaid-i-Azam is one. I want to meet this Momin and to embrace him heart to heart." I said his interview was already arranged and I would take him to the Government House at the appointed time. This I did.

No one who had known the Quaid-i-Azam personally would say that he ever wore his emotions on his shirt sleeves. Plenty of people described him as "All mind and no heart." Be that as it may, as soon as we stepped into his room, the Quaid-i-Azam stretched both his hands and, lean and emaciated as he had become by then, took this stalwart Pathan into his embrace and shook him warmly by the hands. Witnessing the scene I got my answer to the unique hold the Quaid-i-Azam had on the minds and hearts of over a hundred million Muslims of the Indian sub-continent.

To conclude with what I started, I would trepidate to explain the meaning of the Point, much less to expound it. This mystic force has again and again shown itself in our history and will not fail the *Millat* in centuries to come. Is it "*Imam*"? Was this the force responsible for the creation of Pakistan ?

Memories of the Quaid-i-Azam

BY

ALTAF HUSAIN

[Mr. Altaf Husain is Pakistan's most distinguished journalist and a reputed writer. He was Professor of English at the Islamia College, Calcutta, and Dacca University and later Director of Publicity in the Government of Bengal. He relinquished Government service to join *Dawn* as its Editor at the instance of the Quaid-i-Azam in 1945. For over twenty years he edited *Dawn* with great distinction and rendered conspicuous services to the Pakistan Movement and for the consolidation of Pakistan in the post-Independence period. He is now Minister for Industries in the Presidential Cabinet.]

I met the Quaid-i-Azam first in 1936 in Calcutta. He was going up and down on the sub-continent reorganising the Muslim League and asking Muslims everywhere to contest next year's elections on the League's ticket. He was then plain Mr. Jinnah and had not yet made that profound impact on the masses which was to come in latter years. Bengal Muslim leaders were talking of a United Muslim Party but Mr. Jinnah's coming changed all that.

My first glimpse of him was when he came to the Islamia College to address the students. His speech had a tremendous effect on teachers and students alike. An unexpected opportunity to meet him face to face came the following day when I received a message that Mr. Jinnah wanted to see me at the Camac Street residence of the Ispahanis where he was staying. I had not known until then that he was even aware of my existence.

When I was ushered into his presence at the appointed time Mr. Jinnah looked me up and down and said I was doing a very good job. He was referring to my fortnightly column in the *Statesman* called 'Through Muslim Eyes' under the by-line of Ain-ul-Mulk. I had started it two years earlier but, being a Govern-

ment servant, my identity was a closely guarded secret known, I had thought, to only about three people.

The Quaid told me he had been greatly impressed by the column and had learnt the real name of its author from the Editor of the *Statesman.* During the interview, which lasted about an hour, he gave me a thorough briefing on the political situation as it then existed. Before I took leave of him he said things about my column which made me tread on air as I walked out on the street. . . . In April 1945 Khwaja Nazimuddin, then Chief Minister of Bengal, called me to his house one day and handed me a letter from Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan conveying the Quaid-i-Azam's offer to me of the editorship of *Dawn.*

I was thrilled, but it was a difficult decision to make. It meant throwing away a secure and well-paid Government job without a pension, to earn which I had to put in another three years' service. But after a few days the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to me again from Matheran and said, "Once more may I point out that as Editor of *Dawn* you will be occupying a unique position and a man does not live on bread alone." That settled it.

I joined *Dawn*, Delhi, in October 1945, and from there I had privilege of knowing the Quaid-i-Azam at closer quarters. He was not only my Leader but also became my employer. What sort of an employer did I find him ? I do not think that anywhere else in the world there was, is or will be, another newspaper boss who left his Editor so completely free to write exactly as he liked. He never issued any directive, never said "Do this" or "Don't do that." In fact, he had told me to study a given situation and form my honest and independent opinion on it, and then to write fearlessly what I thought—"no matter even if the Quaid-i-Azam was offended thereby."

When Pakistan was established and the Quaid became the Governor-General, his attitude remained the same. That tradition of independence has continued in *Dawn* and accepted by all concerned as a sacred legacy not to be tampered with. . . .

It is the very human heart of the Quaid-i-Azam that memory first recalls as I write. To many he appeared austere, even stern. By speaking often of 'cold-blooded logic' he tended to create the impression that his own blood was cold. But this was not so at all. I remember a day in November 1946 when I saw him weep, and my own tears could not be restrained. It was the seventh of the month, I think, and the morning of Bakr Id. The first great massacre of the Muslims had started, and the Bihar carnage was at its worst. Terrible tales were coming in—alas ! to be often sub-

sequently repeated—of extermination of whole Muslim villages by well-armed, well-organised and numerically overwhelming Hindu mobs. Tales of women and girls of the most respectable Muslim families being raped, killed and their bodies thrown into wells. Tales of infants and children being brutally torn asunder, as if by devils incarnate.

I had gone to pay my Id homage to the Quaid at 10 Aurangzeb Road. He was sitting under a *shamiana* crowded with visitors. I noticed that he was unusually grave. After a short while he got up, signalled to me to follow him, and we entered his study. He settled down in his favourite green upholstered leather chair and motioned me to the other one opposite. It was almost a full minute before he spoke. I had the time to notice that he was trying to control some great surge of emotion. He asked me what was the latest news from Bihar and I told him what I knew.

In a low voice as if he spoke to himself alone, he recalled some of the unbelievable atrocities on Bihar Muslims which the Press had published on the previous two or three days. Suddenly I noticed that his face was wet with tears. The austere, remote, aloof and forbidding Quaid was weeping. For the next minutes in that historic room of 10 Aurangzeb Road, there was only silence and tears. Then he got up, and after doing the needful to our eyes and faces we returned to the *shamiana*. As I took leave of him the Quaid asked me to attend the Id Day reception which the Muslim citizens of Delhi were giving that evening and where he was to speak.

As I listened to what he said on that occasion I knew that he had taken a great decision—that had stemmed not only from the cold-blooded logic of his mind but also from the deep wounds of his heart. After referring to the massacres and atrocities then going on, the Quaid asked the assembled gathering: "What have you done? What are your leaders doing? You must defend yourself. You have hands. You have strength. See to it that the enemy dares not strike at you. . . . " This is not a verbatim quotation but this is the gist of what he said. Nothing in cold print can recapture the passion of his exhortation. But the lead he had given was clear. He had asked the Muslims not to take it lying down. He had asked them to hit back in self-defence.

Shortly afterwards all over the country Muslims minorities were striving to arm themselves. But the odds and the resources pitted against them were tremendous.

Another thing that I remember was the Quaid's power to carry complete conviction to his listeners. At least such was the

case with me. Sitting opposite to him in his study I often listened to him dilate on one subject or another, and I invariably left him thoroughly convinced by his arguments. But it did happen now and then that soon after I left his overwhelming presence fresh doubts began to assail me. . . .

The Quaid-i-Azam never gave in to anything like despair. Even at times when everything seemed to be going against the Muslim League he never abandoned hope, nor modified his stand. Had the leadership of Muslim India been in other hands, a compromise would have been accepted long before 1947 and Pakistan would never have come into being. The only time when something like gloom seemed to assail his mind was when the British Government, at the instance of Lord Wavell, decided to ignore the Muslim League and hand over power to the Congress alone. They installed an interim government with Nehru as the Prime Minister, the Muslim League being left out in the cold. The Quaid-i-Azam was a man of peace and abhorred violence and bloodshed. He relied almost entirely on constitutional means. But this act of betrayal by the British forced him to a policy of direct action. The Calcutta riots costing thousands of lives and the subsequent wave of violent clashes that followed throughout the country were outside the Quaid's original calculations. But faced with that situation he accepted it as inevitable. At the same time, however, he decided to make a direct approach to influential elements in Britain outside the Government to explain the Muslim League's case to them and try to enlist their support. A number of selected emissaries were proposed to be sent to that country for the purpose.

In October 1946 I was sounded whether I could undertake a mission of this kind and I readily agreed, although the task was a formidable one. I was asked to be ready to leave for the U.K. in the second week of November, and meanwhile to meet the Quaid in Bombay to get my briefing. I went there and an incident, rather amusing in retrospect, occurred. When I telephoned to the Quaid-i-Azam for an appointment he asked me to see him at one o'clock. I had an early lunch at my hotel, and quite a big one too, and was at Malabar Hill on time. The Quaid met me in his study upstairs and gave me an idea of what was expected to me. Then he rose and went to the lift. On reaching the ground floor he shepherded me towards the dining room, and it was then that I realised that I had been asked to lunch. I just could not tell him that I had already had mine, and so I meekly sat down at the table. The Quaid continued his briefing and while I listened I dreaded every time the butler came round to me. I took very small helpings and hoped the Quaid would

not notice. Luckily he did not. His mind was full of the other thing.

I returned to Delhi next day, but early in November the plan was changed. I was a little disappointed, but subsequently I learnt that White Hall had realised its mistake and the Quaid had received a hint that fresh overtures would be made to the League.

In the following December the Quaid-i-Azam and the Quaid-i-Millat from the Muslim League side and Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel from the other side were invited to accompany Lord Wavell to London for a final conference with the Attlee Government. I followed separately to observe the scene on behalf of *Dawn*. . . . In the following days I had occasion to observe the Quaid's strategy in what was almost the final battle for Pakistan. He took little rest and worked and conferred sometimes long into the night. He was also extremely tired.

One afternoon when he returned from a lunch meeting at which critical talks were to take place I went into the sitting room of his suite for background information and any story that he might permit me to cable to the paper. The Quaid was lying outstretched on the big sofa, fully dressed, and started talking to me. But hardly had he uttered two or three sentences when his voice trailed off and he fell asleep out of sheer fatigue. I quietly got up, drew the curtains of a window through which the mild afternoon sun was falling on his face, and tip-toed out of the room.

The Quaid-i-Azam did not think very highly of the intellectual calibre or the statesmanlike qualities of most of Britain's rulers at the time-except Sir Stafford Cripps. Sir Stafford, as is well known, was rather inclined towards the Congress stand, but subsequently his attitude underwent a considerable change. This was due to the impact of kindred intellect—that of the Quaid—on his own.

One afternoon the Quaid-i-Azam sent for me and told me that his secretary was out on another mission and would I go downstairs to receive Sir Stafford Cripps who was coming to tea with him, and bring him up. Sir Stafford had met me once or twice in Delhi when he was out with the Cabinet Mission, and he recognised me. As we came up in the lift he asked me a thing or two about *Dawn*, but I found that his mind was far away. After ushering him into the presence of the Quaid I hovered round, and about three quarters of an hour later the two of them walked out, the countenance of both beaming and wreathed in smiles. The Quaid picked up Sir Stafford's coat

which was lying in the lobby and, helping to put it on, said, "Now go and make a good speech." The debate on the Indian situation was to take place on the following day and H.M.G. were to make an announcement.

I remember another occasion when the Quaid was talking to one or two others and myself about his impressions of the men with whom he had come to negotiate. "They run a great country like this, "he said, "but I tell you. . . " and a shrug of his lean but elegant shoulders conveyed the rest of it. The verdict of history, if impartially written, ought not to be, much different. But for the bungling of the men who made the Quaid-i-Azam's shoulders shrug, the transfer of power in this sub-continent would have been much more smoothly effected and most of the blood-shed could have been avoided. Even Mr. Attlee's own party men admit that he was the greatest mediocre ever to take up residence at 10 Downing Street.

On another occasion I was sitting with the Quaid-i-Millat in the latter's drawing room and we became so engrossed in our talk that we hardly noticed it was well past midnight. The blazing logs in the fireplace had subsided into flickering embers and the room was colder. Suddenly the communicating door between the Quaid's suite and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's opened and in walked the Quaid in his dressing gown with a bottle of Vicks Vaporub in his hand. He scolded Mr. Liaquat Ali for not having gone to bed because it seems he had caught cold and was running a little temperature. The Quaid handed the bottle of Vicks to Mr. Liaquat and told him to rub the ointment well on his chest and back before retiring. Then he said good night to us and was about to return to his suite when he turned back and said, "How are you going to rub it on your back ? I think I had better help you." Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, of course, immediately protested and I intervened and offered to perform the good offices which I did.

As the London Conference of December 1946 came to an end and the leaders were due to return home, the Quaid-i-Azam decided to establish an Information Centre in London which could put forward the Muslim League's case to the Press and selected political elements in the United Kingdom. He had his own ideas on the subject and I made my suggestions. It was decided that within a month or so a competent man would be sent out from India to take charge of the Centre. At my suggestion he agreed to entrust *Dawn's* the then London Correspondent with the routine work of the Centre which would be to distribute the literature I was to produce and to answer inquiries that might be made. . . . I had sent for copies of *Dawn* to help me

produce the material. In a few days the manuscripts were ready for *India—the Past Ten Years, Why Pakistan?* and *Fifty Facts about Pakistan.* The last two were short pamphlets but the first was a little more ambitious. The Quaid-i-Azam had arranged with Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani—whom he had sent on a Muslim League publicity mission to the United States and who had returned to London to report to him—to take care of the financing of the Centre, and the manuscripts went to printers designated by the Ispahani's business office in the city.

It was now the second week of January. It occurred to me that there should be a formal inauguration of "The Muslim Information Centre". Mr. Ispahani agreed. January 13 was fixed as the date and arrangements were made for a party at Claridges where we proposed to get together as many pressmen as we could and tell them about the Centre.

Three days before the 13th I had a 'brain-wave' why should not we start a four-page fornightly bulletin called : *Muslim India Information Bulletin* and publish the first issue on the day of the Centre's inauguration ? Again, Mr. Ispahani agreed, and I spent the following two days preparing the material for it. . . .

The bulletin was beautifully printed and delivered on time ; the inaugural function was a great success and my assignment in London was over. Three days later I was back in Karachi *en route* to Delhi. I knew that the Quaid-i-Azam was in Karachi and telephoned for an interview. The first thing he asked me was whether I had brought the record. Never had I felt so abashed as I did then, because I had failed to do a simple thing that the Quaid had asked me to.

During my visit to London he had given a recorded broadcast for the American N.B.C. and he had asked me to obtain from the Radio people the record of his talk. I had twice contacted them but the Quaid's copy was not yet ready. In the preoccupation and excitement of the work for the Information Centre which had so completely absorbed me I had forgotten to inquire again. Indeed, I had forgotten all about the record.

The Quaid was naturally annoyed, but when I told him what had been done and produced copies of the *Information Bulletin* and manuscripts of the pamphlets, his face cleared and I had a feeling that forgiveness was not far away.

The Congress had again created difficulties and put its own interpretations on the latest statement of H.M.G. The Quaid-i-Azam had brought me up to date on the situation and analysed the implication of the resolution which the Congress Working

Committee had recently passed. He told me to debunk the Congress on those lines. This was the only occasion, besides another minor one, when I had received specific instruction from him to write. But I needed it as I had been absent for more tan six weeks.

The Quaid-i-Azam laid great stone by what he called at rained mind, and very early in my association with him as the editor of his paper I learnt from him the importance of not yielding to automatic reflexes or coming to conclusions in a hurry. He seemed to believe that the best process for the training of a politician's mind was the practice of law, and that probably explains why he specially valued the opinions of those among his immediate associates who, like him, had learnt mental discipline through legal practice.

The most vivid memory of my contact with the Quaid as Governor-General, after the birth of Pakistan, relates to a rather extraordinary telephone talk I had with him one day. I had watched a Minister, who was in charge of dealing with the refugee situation arising from the still continuing riots and violence which had followed in Pakistan's wake, discuss with some officers what measures to take. It seemed to me that their minds and their measures were both inadequate to grapple with the immense problems posed. Next morning I sought an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. As I did not hear anything about it by midday I rang up the Governor-General's House again. I was told that the Quaid was too busy, but on my insisting, the A.D.C.—after an interval—said he was putting me on to the Quaid. It was a harassed voice that almost rasped : "Altaf, what is it ?"

I told him what I had witnessed the previous evening. I told him how inadequate the Minister and his measures seemed to me. The Quaid cut me short. He said, "I know, I know. I have told the Ministers not to sit in their houses. I have told them to go out and supervise things." "But, Sir," I said, "have you a Minister big enough for a job like this ?" The Quaid asked me what I had in mind, and I suggested that, for a task of such magnitude, he needed a man like Mr. Suhrawardy whom I had seen in action during the Calcutta riots.

"Is not Suhrawardy going round with Gandhi and doing something or other in India ? But you should talk to Liaquat, he is the Prime Minister."

With that the conversation ended and I thought I would talk to the Prime Minister as soon as I could. But two mornings later Chaudhri Mohammad Ali, who was then the Secretary-

General, dropped in at my house on his way to office. He wanted to know if I could help him with the address and telephone number of Mr. Suhrawardy in Calcutta. So, I thought, the Quaid had already done something about it. I gave Chaudhri Sahib the information but later learnt that they had not been able to contact Mr. Suhrawardy. A message had, therefore, been sent to the Governor of Bengal who was requested to convey to Mr. Suhrawardy the Quaid's wish that he should come to Karachi and meet him.

Mr. Suhrawardy took his own time and it was some ten days later that he turned up. But nothing came of it. Mr. Fazl-ur-Rahman had been given the first preference and include in the Cabinet and Mr. Suhrawardy was not going to be an afterthought. Of course, that was Mr. Suhrawardy all over. I have often wondered whether the shape of things in Pakistan would have been different if Mr. Suhrawardy had joined the Cabinet then instead of doing so at the wrong time years later.

Was the Quaid-i-Azam a dictator? Had he lived, would he have turned the administration into a one-man's rule? I definitely think not. In those early days of Pakistan he was to his Ministers still the Great Leader of the Movement, to whom they had looked for every major decision. They had not got used to treating him simply as a constitutional head of State. That is why they usually wanted him to decide things for them. The Quaid-i-Azam would never have succeeded as a dictator even if he tried. Like his methods his mind moved on constitutional lines. My last meeting with him was at Ziarat about three months before his death. I found him gloomy and preoccupied and even a little irritable. We discussed many things, but West Punjab's affairs were uppermost in his mind. Factional rivalry had broken out there between groups headed by two prominent Muslim Leaguers—both close associates of the Quaid. There was instability, and the administration was suffering. The Quaid analysed the situation for my benefit.

When he had finished I asked him why he did not intervene and use his powers as Governor-General to suspend the Constitution and promulgate Governor-General's rule. His answer showed how thoroughly constitutional was his attitude. He said the Act empowered him to suspend the Constitution in a province only when the security of the State was threatened. He could not construe the Mamdot-Daultana clash, which was an internal party matter, as a threat to Pakistan's security. Therefore, he was not prepared to invoke his powers under section 92(A).

After the meeting in Ziarat I never again saw the Quaid alive. On that fateful September night I had retired to bed as usual after ensuring that the Quaid's return to Karachi from Quetta earlier in the evening was properly written up for next morning's *Dawn*.

I was just dozing off when the bedside telephone rang. "I am speaking from the Governor-General House," said the voice. "The Prime Minister wants you here immediately." For some reason I was not entirely surprised, but I asked the person at the other end to stand by because I wanted to ring back and recheck to make sure that it was not a hoax. I did so and the message was confirmed.

On entering the Governor-General's House some ten minutes later the first man I encountered was Chaudhri Mohammad Ali. "The Quaid is dead," he said. The Cabinet was in session in another room and I was to stand by.

So that was the end of an epoch of history.

Someone was talking on the telephone to Dacca. A special plane was being sent, and how soon could Khawaja Nazimuddin arrive? That was when I learnt who the Quaid's successor as Governor-General was going to be.

A little while later the Prime Minister came out and talked to me. They were all anxious about the repercussion which the news of the Quaid's death might have on the people. At all costs the nation had to remain calm and disciplined.

Almost mechanically I walked to another room where I knew there would be a typewriter. I uncovered the machine, inserted a sheet of paper and typed out an editorial, 'Long Live Pakistan.'

> "The Father of the Nation is dead, but the nation lives. The Founder of Pakistan is dead but Pakistan lives. . . .
>
> "We ask the people to put grief aside, not to yield to sorrow Our dear. Quaid would have wished it so. . . ."

The editorial asked the nation not to forget that "Pakistan comes first." Everyone was exhorted "to remain at his post, no matter what tragedy may have overtaken him." If the contrary happened, "the safety and security of Pakistan might be in jeopardy." And so on.

How many people know that the Quaid had died without speaking any last words of counsel to the Prime Minister? For reasons which some future historian may discover and disclose, the Prime Minister had not been able to go to Quetta when the

Quaid was known to be sinking. He had not been able to go to the Mauripur Airport to meet the Quaid's plane on arrival.

He told me about it some months later. "I was told what time his plane was due," he said, "and I expected, the Quaid's standard to go up on the Governor-General's House by a particular time. I sat here and watched but there was no flag. Then they telephoned me from Mauripur that the ambulance bringing the Quaid had broken down and another one had been called. I continued to wait and watch. I saw the flag go up almost an hour and a half later than it should have."

When the Prime Minister was admitted to the Quaid's bedside, later that night, it was already too late.

Muslim First and Anything Else Afterwards

BY

MIAN ABDUL AZIZ

[Mian Abdul Aziz, Barrister-at-Law of Lahore, is one of the oldest surviving leaders of the Muslim freedom movement. He loyally stood by the Quaid-i-Azam at a time when very few responded to his call in the Punjab. He rendered valuable services in the movement for the preservation of Muslim national identity and the campaign for the creation of Pakistan.]

During my stay in London as a law student in the nineties of the last century I first met the Quaid-i-Azam. He was at that time an active member of the Muslim Society in England.

In the past we dreamt beautiful dreams about the future. Before engaging in the struggle for independence under the leadership of a sincere and courageous man we also drew up the outlines of an independent Islamic State which was prepared by our Quaid-i-Azam keeping in view Islamic principles. The devotees of freedom laid down the same principles for every department of life in a free Islamic country as have been prescribed by Islam. Our hearts are singed when anything happens against the decisions of the leaders of the Pakistan Movement.

It was in 1936 that the Quaid-i-Azam wrote to me a letter asking me for the use of my house to hold a meeting of the Muslim League. Considering it an honour I immediately replied placing my house at his disposal. Under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership meetings were frequently held at my house. The Unionist Party was in power at the time. Whenever there was

a meeting many agents of the Unionist Party prowled round the house to obtain some information about our deliberations. Once or twice I told them, "Why do you move about in the sun. Come in. You will avoid inconvenience and will also be able to submit correct reports to the rulers. Some of those who used to come to get information and submitted distorted reports about the fighters for freedom to serve their own interests are to-day posing as leaders.

The Quaid-i-Azam had spent most of his life in European surroundings but he was a very intelligent man. By dint of his study and observation and as a Muslim he had realised that if the Muslims lived as subjects of any other nation it would be a proof of the immaturity of their character. He, therefore, devoted all his efforts to building up the character of the nation. He repeatedly told us that he was a Muslim first and anything else afterwards. He said, "I cannot tolerate the Muslims living as slaves in this sub-continent. We have ruled over India for centuries. We now have to strive to build up high character. After independence we have to eradicate all those evils from our society which have created an inferiority complex among our youth."

In 1947 after the establishment of Pakistan the Nawab of Mamdot gave an afternoon party in honour of the Quaid-i-Azam. It was attended by about four or five hundred guests. The Quaid-i-Azam was shaking hands with every guest. He looked very weak. Walking among the guests he came towards me and smilingly said, "Assalam-o-Alaikum, Abdul Aziz, how are you?" I replied, "If you excuse me, may I say something?" He asked, "What is it?" I said respectfully, "For God's sake, please take care of your health?" He looked serious and replied, "Abdul Aziz, it is only the beginning of the work. God will help. But what can I do? Among the coins I have some are counterfeit."

The Quaid-i-Azam used to say, "In the independent Islamic State we will root out all the remnants of the days of slavery. Our affairs will be managed according to the teachings of Allah and His Prophet. We will rid ourselves of the foreign language. Our national language would be Urdu and Urdu alone." He often talked to us in Urdu. Towards the closing years of his life he tried to utter more and more sentences in Urdu. But now I am astonished that even in ordinary functions English is used as the medium of expression instead of Urdu.

The Founder of Pakistan has observed: "It is my belief that our salvation lies in following the golden rules of conduct set for

us by our great lawgiver, the Prophet of Islam. Let us lay the foundations of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles. Our Almighty has taught us that our affairs of the State shall be guided by discussions and consultations."

[*Adapted from* Nawa-i-Waqat, 25 *December* 1965.]

Quaid Achieved Pakistan in Face of British Antipathy

BY

MALIK FEROZE KHAN NOON

[Malik Feroze Khan Noon is a veteran politician with a long record of service. Educated at Oxford he began to take interest in public affairs early in life. He was a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly and a Minister in the Punjab Government. He served as High Commissioner for India in U.K. and later was the first Indian Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He resigned the Defence Membership in 1945, joined the Muslim League, was elected to the Punjab Legislative Assembly and took part in the movement which brought about the end of the Unionist regime in the Punjab. He was Quaid-i-Azam's Personal Envoy to the Middle East and Governor of East Pakistan. Later he was Chief Minister of the Punjab and Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Pakistan.]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a very great man. He formulated his programme after careful thought and then sincerely set about achieving his object. In the pursuit of the Pakistan Movement he was never daunted by his critics and in achieving Pakistan he was never influenced by those political bodies which at the instigation of the Congress were trying to deflect the people from the demand for Pakistan and wean them away from the leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam. The Hindu Congress, the British Government and the Nationalist Muslim organisations were all opposed to Pakistan. The Quaid-i-Azam was fighting simultaneously on these three fronts. In keeping with its traditions the British nation has always been inimical to every movement for the progress and well-being of the Mussalmans. The Quaid-i-Azam was, therefore, certain that he would never have the support of British rulers. After the Second World War the Labour Government of Mr. Attlee was particularly opposed to the demand for Pakistan. The Quaid-i-Azam never faltered in his struggle. He achieved Pakistan by

dint of sagacity and popular support.

The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, was against the establishment of Pakistan and like the last Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, he played into the hands of the Congress. At that time Britain's economy had been ruined as a result of the war. The Labour Government had serious misgivings that the Army in all the colonies might revolt. In this connection Lord Wavell submitted a detailed report to the Attlee Government and expressed the fear that in view of the serious turn the freedom movement had taken the Indian Army would revolt against Britain at any time. He appealed to the British Government to send 50,000 British troops to keep down the forces of freedom. This report created a consternation in the Labour Government circles. Mr. Attlee instructed Lord Wavell that, instead of asking for British forces, he should make arrangements for the transfer of power, as this would save Britain from economic collapse.

As a result of his negotiations on the question of freedom with leaders of different political parties, Lord Wavel realised that the Muslims, in view of their separate culture and national needs, could not go along with the Hindus. For his part he made all possible efforts to keep alive the Congress concept of Akhand Bharat, but he could not influence the Quaid-i-Azam. The Congress leaders themselves sabotaged the Cabinet Mission's Plan which proved the Quaid-i-Azam's contention that the Hindus would never keep their promises after the attainment of freedom. Accordingly Lord Wavell reported to the Attlee Government that agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League was not possible and the question of Pakistan should be given serious consideration. The Quaid-i-Azam thus defeated the Congress and the British Government and paved the way for Pakistan through his perspicacity.

The Labour Party after considering Lord Wavell's recommendations sent Lord Mountbatten as Viceroy of India so that he might arrange for India's freedom, keeping in view the concept of Akhand Bharat in some form. But the Muslim League under the Quaid-i-Azam's leadership had captured all the Muslim seats in the Central Assembly and most of the seats in the Provincial Assemblies in the elections of 1945-46. The Quaid-i-Azam thus won these elections which in principle constituted a referendum on the question of Pakistan as a result of which Lord Mountbatten was forced to concede the demand for Pakistan. But true to the British tradition he showed his hostility towards the Muslims, manipulated the partition of the sub-continent in such a way that certain areas could not be incorporated in Pakistan, though they formed part of it from

the geographical, economic and social points of view.

The British attempted to solve the political problems of the sub-continent from a commercial point of view. Considering the larger population of India as a useful market for Britain, they conceded most of the demand of the Congress leaders. The British thought that the Hindu nation would always be dependent Britain which would enjoy greater commercial privileges in India. They, therefore, took measures at the time of partition which afforded greater advantages to India than Pakistan.

I was at that time Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and I made it known that Lord Wavell's apprehension about the possibility of Indian Army's revolt was baseless. But Britain, due to its peculiar conditions, got ready to grant immediate independence to the sub-continent of which the Congress leaders took the fullest advantage. In collusion with the British they injured Pakistan geographically. The attitude of the 'Nationalist' Muslim parties also did harm to Pakistan in this respect. To please the Hindus Lord Mountbatten made changes in the Radcliffe Boundary Award and made over Gurdaspur and other areas to India. They thus completed their plans for India's wrongful occupation of Kashmir. In consequence of this conspiracy India is still forcibly occupying Kashmir and this question continues to be a point of dispute between Pakistan and India.

During the process of establishment of Pakistan Sardar Patel put forward the proposal that if Hyderabad State announced its accession to India he would agree to the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan. I had talks with the Quaid-i-Azam in this connection, but due to certain constitutional difficulties Sardar Patel's proposal could not be accepted. In the declaration of independence of India and Pakistan the British Government had inserted a provision to the effect that the Rulers of States would have power to accede to any of the two dominions in conformity with the wishes of the people. I told the Quaid-i-Azam that Pakistan had no constitutional right to do any bargaining in regard to Hyderabad State. He had a great respect for constitutionalism. He was sure that the Kashmir question would be settled in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State and Maharajah Hari Singh would settle the accession issue by means of referendum. The Quaid-i-Azam supported the Kashmiri's right to self-determination and even to-day Pakistan is trying to get this question settled on the basis of self-determination according to the principles of the Quaid-i-Azam.

[*Adapted from* Mashriq, 2 *December*, 1965.]

Precious Moments with Quaid-i-Azam

BY

AHMAD E. H. JAFFER

[Mr. Ahmad E. H. Jaffer is the son of a distinguished Muslim leader, the late Sir Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer of Bombay, who served the cause of the Muslims of India. Mr. Jaffer followed in the footsteps of his father not only as a successful business man but also as a prominent public man. At a comparatively young age he was elected a member of the Central Legislative Assembly of India. He was member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. He was an active worker in the Pakistan Movement and was closely associated with the Quaid-i-Azam. Mr. Jaffer is a keen sportsman and has been associated with the development of Olympic Games in Pakistan from the beginning. He is President of the Islamic Council of International Affairs.]

Stern disciplinarian, yet he had the kindliest of hearts. Some thought he was standoffish and over-engrossed in himself and the cause to which he had dedicated his life. Yet those fortunate few who did come in close contact with him do remember even now and cherish the moments that they were fortunate in passing with the great departed leader. In this short article I propose to touch upon the occasions which stand out as landmarks in my life.

I found that the Quaid-i-Azam was always anxious to trim up promising young men. He used to watch them, assess and value them, and if he found that they were made of some precious mattle, he took personal interest to polishing them up.

I remember the days when towards the end of 1934 I was first elected a member of the Central Assembly in Delhi, and that was the first session the Quaid-i-Azam attended after his long absence from India in England. The session commenced in January 1935. By great good fortune I was living on the top floor of Western Court where the Quaid-i-Azam too had his

suite of rooms hardly two or three doors away from my apartments. This brought me in very close contact with the Quaid-i-Azam and not a day passed when I did not have the occasion somehow to meet him. He was then the leader of the Independent Party, for the Muslim League party had not yet come into existence. I was an unattached member owing no allegiance to any political label, watching things and considering the course I should follow. Even though I owed no affiliation to his party, yet I had access to his guidance. One valuable advice he gave me has been the pivot of my life.

One afternoon I was invited to meet him a few days before the budget session closed. The meeting took place at his rented bungalow on Asoka Road (he later purchased the beautiful house 10 Aurangzeb Road) where he had shifted on arrival from Bombay. He had watched me voting against him in the Assembly on a few occasions and he said to me : "I do not mind your voting against me. By all means exercise your right in any manner you deem fit, but remember never go against the dictates of your own conscience. If you feel that you are doing right, then do not hesitate; but if you feel that you are doing something for some consideration at variance with your conscience then shun that course. Throughout my life I have followed that dictum. I do not care what people say or think. I only do what my conscience tells me is right. If you follow my advice you will rise free like gold. This was not only so in Assemblies and Councils but should be taken as a touchstone in all walks of life. Don't run after jobs ; jobs must run after you." I departed from his presence and I was sorry that the advice had not been given to me earlier. I came away a sadder but wiser man, fully conscious of my shortcomings, firm in my mind that the advice given to me shall be the only beaconlight in my life's journey.

There are people who create multifarious interests and dabble in all sorts of things. They have their proverbial finger in every pie, but the Quaid-i-Azam had a peculiar trait to his character. He would pick and choose in everything and once he had decided on a line it would engross his mind and soul. The cause of the Muslims dominated his conscious and self-conscious mind and he had no time for any other thing except the destiny of the Muslims of India. This did not mean that all other aspects of life had been shut out by him. It only meant that, even though he gave proper values to things these values did not command his time and energy to the extent that the all-important phase of his life commanded. He took interest in sports only as a subsidiary. He said once, "I love to be a

sportsman but there are higher things in life which must take precedence over all others."

Early in 1947 during the winter session of the Assembly I was returning home on a Sunday morning from the Lodhi Golf Course after a game of golf. On my way home I dropped in to see the Quaid-i-Azam. He was in the garden and I talked to him for a few minutes. As I was leaving he saw in my car my golf bag and he said, "Sometimes I feel like playing golf. I think one of these days I shall start playing it." Two months later I went to see him with my younger brother Essa who had arrived from Bombay that afternoon as he wanted to pay his respects to the Quaid-i-Azam. It was about 7-30 p.m. and I was returning from the I.D.G. Club after tennis. The Quaid-i-Azam again talked of sports when he saw me in my tennis kit. I reminded him of his promise to play golf and prompt came the reply, 'Where do I get time from the game of politics that I should indulge in the game of golf. You have tees and holes in golf ; the game of politics has pitfalls and I have to watch every step because the goal is vital." This was at the time when important political negotiations were taking place.

After the establishment of Pakistan I returned from England towards the end of 1947. I went to pay my respects to the Father of the Nation and he congratulated me on our success in securing affiliation of the Pakistan Olympic Association with the International Body and he said that he eagerly looked forward to the first Pakistan Olympic Meet. I discussed with him the idea of Pan-Islamic Games and he said, "Go ahead, my good wishes and blessings go with you. It is a tremendous task and I shall watch how you do it."

As promised the Quaid-i-Azam took personal interest in the First Pakistan Olympic Championships. He extended his patronage to the Association and on 23 April 1948, that memorable day in the lives of sportsmen of Pakistan, he drove in state in an open carriage, in sweltering heat and scorching sun, to perform the opening ceremony, sat on for over four hours, had tea with us and then left for the Governor-General's House. His speech at the opening of the games will go down in history as an inspiring piece of literature, a message of hope and cheer, a message of wise philosophy and sound guidance. He honoured the sportsmen of Pakistan by deciding to give them a dinner party inviting only the representative sportsmen, managers of the teams and officials of the Olympic Association, but later he changed his mind and invited all to an At Home, the entire body of over 250 strong contingents from all over Pakistan

without exception. To this he invited a galaxy of notables and elite of Karachi as well as the diplomatic representatives of various countries. At the party he said to me, "I have invited this big gathering so that our sportsmen meet international representatives and know them."

He is dead but dead only in body. His soul lives inside every Pakistani, and sportsmen of Pakistan owe him a sacred duty to perpetuate his name, in the field of sports by erecting a first-rate stadium spacious enough to stage International Olympic Games.

Quaid-i-Azam as a Democrat

BY

HASAN A. SHEIKH

[Mr. Hasan A. Sheikh took an active part in the Pakistan Movement. He was General Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and President of Bombay City Muslim League. In Pakistan he was Joint Secretary of the Constituent Assembly and National Assembly of Pakistan. He is now a practising lawyer and a prominent member of the National Assembly.]

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder and architect of Pakistan, had several aspects of his life. In his long public life in which he left spell-bound millions of admirers around him he laid stress on a clean code of conduct in all his relationship whether as a lawyer, politician, leader or head of the State. It is difficult to say which one of the facets of his life was more pronounced than the other because he excelled himself in each one of them to the chagrin of his opponents and amazement of his own admirers.

It is intended on this occasion to deal with the Quaid-i-Azam as a democrat. In 1918 Lord Willingdon's term of office as Governor of Bombay Presidency came to a close. There had never been a dearth of sycophants in this sub-continent at any time or stage. Some of the sycophants in the city of Bombay decided to hold a public meeting in the town hall to raise Willingdon Memorial on behalf of the people of Bombay. The Quaid-i-Azam, still young and buoyant with public spirit, self-confidence and courage, decided to oppose the move. In spite of the usual repression and suppression expected from the bureaucracy of the day the Quaid-i-Azam took it upon himself to lead people's opposition to the move of the memorial on the ground that the general public of Bombay did not want such a memorial. In order to assert his democratic right of expression of public

opinion, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Committee which had constituted itself as representing the people of Bombay and clearly told him that Lord Willingdon's administration did not contain anything to merit a memorial nor did it have the approval of the citizens of Bombay requiring commemoration of any kind. He asked the Secretary to inform him of the date of the meeting so that he could oppose the move publicly for such a memorial. The Quaid-i-Azam considered the exercise of this democratic right of opposing what he considered to be against the public opinion of the day which brought him into clash with the administration nurtured *goondas*, but his cool courage ignored all the risk. When actually the meeting was called without any reply to his letter to the Secretary of the Committee he went to the meeting without hesitation. Lord Willingdon, who was scheduled to attend the meeting, did not dare, in spite of the heavy Police contingent arranged for his security. The Quaid-i-Azam exhibited exemplary courage and tact in not only attending the meeting but also placing on record the resentment of the citizens of Bombay against an unpopular move of the sycophants. His skilful handling of the situation and his brilliant performance brought an echo of spontaneous praise from all quarters of the sub-continent. A move was afoot to commemorate this episode of fearless leadership, political sagacity and tact which culminated in a beautiful memorial being built in Bombay known as People's Jinnah Hall which is housed in the compound of the Congress House of the city. Its opening ceremony was performed by Mrs. Sirojani Naidu. The Quaid-i-Azam was then in Europe and in a telegram to him Mrs. Naidu described him as "a prophet honoured in his own country and in his own time."

This was the first battle of democracy which the Quaid-i-Azam fought and won and thus laid the foundation of a glorious life. Thereafter in whichever organisation or assembly he remained he worked as a democrat and asserted his right of opposition whenever necessary and never hesitated to afford fully the democratic right to his own opposition.

Although the Quaid-i-Azam remained the undisputed leader of the Musalmans of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and therefore, was virtually the only accepted leader, still he never imposed himself as the President of the Muslim League. He always got himself elected through a democratic process. On the 25th of March each year he got himself enrolled as a member of the Primary Muslim League through which he went to the District Muslim League, and through the District Muslim League he went to the Provincial Muslim League, and thence got elected as

Councillor for the All-India Muslim League to qualify himself for election as the President. He was so democratic in his words and deeds that he preferred to go through the process of election and never sought a direct nomination. In fact he resented any suggestion of a direct nomination in his case. If by the 25th of March any year he was not approached for enrolment he approached the Secretary of the Primary League himself to ensure that he was enrolled in time. In his zeal for maintaining democratic institutions he would give due importance to the office bearers of his own Primary League. I know of an incident which would show how deep-rooted was his love for democratic institutions and traditions. When Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang heard of the Quaid-i-Azam's indisposition he came to Bombay. Sitting in the office of the Provincial Muslim League Nawab Bahadur telephoned the Quaid-i-Azam for an appointment to call on him. The Quaid-i-Azam told him that his doctor had advised him not to give any interviews for a day or two. One Usmanbhai Rahimbhai Sipahi who was then doing petty business in Bombay and was the President of the Primary Muslim League to which the Quaid-i-Azam belonged, telephoned immediately after Nawab Bahadur had put down the receiver, saying that he wanted to meet him in connection with some discussion about his own Primary Muslim League. In complete disregard of doctor's advice and even of having declined an appointment to Nawab Bahadur, the Quaid-i-Azam called Usmanbhai at once.

Whenever there was any public meeting in any area under the auspices of the Primary Muslim League and the Quaid-i-Azam attended that meeting he would insist that the President of the Primary Muslim League would preside over the meeting.

On one occasion there was a serious move amongst the Muslim League leaders of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent to appoint the Quaid-i-Azam as the permanent President of the Muslim League. The Quaid-i-Azam strongly rejected such a move saying that it was his duty to come before the council of the Muslim League, afford an opportunity to the councillors to assess his performance during the outgoing year and seek the presidentship for the following year. His urge for democratic institutions and traditions had always kept him alive to the need of maintenance of those traditions by those who can set examples rather than easily cling to power.

On the 25th of December 1945, the Birthday of the Quaid-i-Azam was celebrated with great enthusiasm and pomp. Everywhere in the city of Bombay out of love and affection and not

out of any compulsion, arches and gates were erected in the Muslim areas. At one place near the J.J. Hospital a huge portrait of the Quaid-i-Azam with royal robes was put up by some over enthusiastic person and below that was written "Shahinshah-i-Pakistan Zindabad". The Quaid-i-Azam who happened to be passing by the road noticed this portrait. He immediately stopped his car on the road. The Quaid-i-Azam's car being stopped on the road was an exceptional occasion. Within a short time thousands of people had gathered around the car. He told the driver to go and get the man who was responsible for putting up the portrait and when some of the organisers of the celebration in that area came he addressed them and the huge crowd that had by then gathered and said Pakistan is going to be a democracy and there was no room for a Shahinshah in Pakistan. He demanded that the portrait be put down at once and said that one should never think in terms of anything but democracy for Pakistan.

After the establishment of Pakistan the Quaid-i-Azam was given all the powers of a Quaid-i-Azam by a specific resolution of the Cabinet. Under the terms of the Resolution he had the power to overrule any decision of the Cabinet but he never exercised such powers. He was averse to any dictation of any kind. The Quaid-i-Azam believed in democracy and considered that the Musalmans had special aptitude for it. He held that Islam was truly democratic in thought, spirit and action and he believed that the only way to run Pakistan true to the traditions of Islam was to have Pakistan as a Democratic Republic.

The Quaid-i-Azam lived and died as a democrat. Pakistan of his dream can ill-afford to forget his great love for democratic traditions and institutions. He had great confidence in the people. In return, the people had great confidence in him. To him democracy was the way of life of the Musalmans and through it alone Pakistan could achieve a place of honour, dignity and glory in the comity of nations.

Reminiscences

BY

BEGUM JEHAN ARA SHAH NAWAZ

[Begum Shah Nawaz is one of the pioneers of Muslim women's movement in the sub-continent. Being the daughter of the late Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi she had opportunities of watching the progress of political movements from close quarters and herself taking part in public affairs. She worked zealously for the social and educational uplift of Muslim women. She was a delegate to the Round Table Conference held in London in 1930-32. She was elected a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937 and again in 1946 and 1951 and of the West Pakistan Assembly in 1962. In 1947 she led the Muslim women who played a heroic part in the struggle against the Unionist regime in the Punjab. She was also a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly from 1947 to 1954. The Quaid-i-Azam deputed her along with Mr. Ispahani on a special mission in 1946 to project the case for Pakistan in U.S.A. Begum Sahib is associated with several cultural bodies.]

On this auspicious day [Quaid's birthday], the nation was blessed with a unique and outstanding personality who secured Pakistan for them without firing one shot. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, one of the ablest legal and constitutional brains of this sub-continent, believing in the achievement of liberty for his country, worked for it throughout his life. He left no stone unturned to bring all the communities together so that the battle for freedom be fought unitedly and for years worked side by side with some of the foremost Hindu leaders. The foreign yoke and foreign domination must go, but liberty was to be for all and not only for the Hindu majority nation.

While writing, the picture of the last fifty-five years of political developments is passing before the mind's eye like a cinema film.

The Muslims must have a strong political organisation of their own to safeguard their rights and interests as a minority

in the sub-continent and secure for themselves their share of power in any democratic form of government. They were heavily in debt and owed Hindus crores of rupees, therefore, it was essential that they should have separate electorates in order to get their real representatives elected to the legislatures and placed in key positions, persons who would not be mere stooges of the Hindus. The evening when the name Muslim League was coined and the day when the first deputation waited upon the Viceroy on behalf of the infant organisation. Separate electorates were accepted as basis of the Minto-Morley Reform scheme and the foundation of a separate entity of the Muslim nation in the country was established. Outstanding Muslims came into the forefront and the pace of securing further power from the British was accelerated. World War I, all-out help from India and after the successful conclusion of the strife, Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms given to the country. There was great disappointment all round, Punjab upheaval, Jallianwala Bagh, demand for further reforms followed. Simon Commission was appointed without a single Indian included in it and there was great agitation in the country, and Civil Disobedience movement was started. Some Muslim leaders were for co-operation with the Commission so that the Muslim case should not go by default and others were for non-co-operation, like the Congress. The Nehru Report and the Muslims denied their legitimate right of majority rule in the two major provinces where they were in the majority. Foremost Muslim leaders realising at last that they had to unite and work for their due rights, irrespective of the Congress, so that they should not become like the depressed classes in the country. Shafi and Jinnah met in Delhi in 1929 and the Muslim League and the Muslim leaders became one, and Jinnah's Fourteen Points became the slogan of the Muslims in the sub-continent.

The deliberations of the Round Table Conference, Muslim Delegation meetings in the Agha Khan's room at the Riaz Hotel. Shafi and Jinnah together leading, with the help of the Agha Khan and others following. Hours of thrashing out of the different points often late in the nights because of the meetings in the mornings. Mr. Jinnah's able advocacy, finding solutions of the most intricate problems and meeting every point so diligently can never be forgotten. The Committees' meetings, Muslim Delegation speaking with one voice, one word, one demand, one question, one reply, a team working as one man and winning the respect and esteem of all. Shafi and Jinnah with their towering personalities and brilliant speeches keeping many persons spell-bound in the Conference. The contrast,

Liberal Hindus saying one thing, Mahasabhaites another and the Congress point of view widely different. The Lord Chancellor Lord Sankey, President of the Conference, said one day that he had heard of the Muslims being born administrators, but he had seen it with his own eyes in the way that the whole of the Muslim Delegation had worked as a team in the Round Table Conference.

I had the pleasure of knowing Mr. and Mrs. Jinnah personally. Ratti Jinnah and I had become good friends and I spent many a pleasant and interesting hour with them both in Simla and New Delhi, Mr. Jinnah was always spotlessly dressed, a social asset, quick at repartee and a perfect host. Ratti Jinnah was a beautiful lady, cultured and refined. Lord Reading once said that Mrs. Jinnah was one of the prettiest and well-dressed women that he had ever met. Mr. Jinnah's speeches on important questions and Bills in the Central Legislative Assembly were eargerly looked forward to and often people would forgo their lunches so that they should not miss even one word of his speech. How brief, specific, to the point and most convincing were the points he raised and the words he used. Such able advocacy and correct judgment and sound point of view! While advocating the Muslim cause, he never forgot for even one moment that the pace of progress of the path of liberty should have no impediments in its way. What leadership and what sagacity of views ! Working with Mr. Jinnah in the Round Table Conference and in the Delegation meetings, I came to know the real Mr. Jinnah, standing for Muslim solidarity, Muslim unity and Muslim strength. When I went to England, full of fervour for the country's independence, my speeches were the reflection of my thoughts of nationalism, patriotism and hope. One day when I was talking animatedly about India's freedom and pressing a certain point, Mr. Jinnah smiled and said, "You are still young, but you will get to know what I have learnt after working nearly thirty years with the Hindus." Maulana Muhammad Ali called me to his bedside four days before his demise. He said graciously that he looked upon me as one of the future hopes of the nation and he had to try and guide me to the right path. Then he related to me some of his sad experience of working with the Hindus. Although he was very sick, he talked to me for nearly two hours. He advised me to be very careful of what I said on platforms about the future of the Muslim nation in India. I learnt and learnt it very soon for my nationalism oozed out drop by drop when the long and protracted negotiations went on between the different communities, more especially during the two memorable months



The Quaid with members of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly 1946.

of talks with Mr. Gandhi, who had been unanimously elected as arbitrator by the Conference. The Congress leader may have been very clever, but he was no match for our astute and vigilant leadership. Disappointed, disgusted and disillusioned, I came to know that the Hindus wanted Hindu Raj and not Indian independence and my leaders had been perfectly right in giving me such good advice." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he could not understand the mentality of his community, who were prepared to forgo the whole rupee if they had to give four annas out of it to the Muslims. The Shylock mentality of the Hindu nation wrecked everything and when the negotiations broke down, there was nothing left in the Conference and we decided to leave London in November 1931, four days before the conclusion of the deliberations of the Conference.

Shafi and Jinnah, leading the nation, one with a constructive bend of mind and the other with a cute and analytical mind. The First Round Table Conference was finishing and the Prime Minister, Mr. Romsay MacDonald, was to make his final speech, and the delegates were to know what Great Britain was prepared to give India in the way of further reforms. The Muslim Delegation was anxious to learn beforehand what safeguards were to be incorporated for the protection of minorities so that, if necessary, some changes could be worked for and secured. A letter was received by the Agha Khan and the Delegation met immediately in his rooms. Jinnah was delayed and the letter was discussed and had been approved of when Mr. Jinnah arrived. He went through it and pointed out the flaw where none seemed to exist, a flaw that would have meant an annulment of most of what had been conceded. All were amazed. Shafi at once gave the perfect alternative phrase. The two of them together, what a perfect whole both of them made! Shafi and Jinnah's brains combined with Agha Khan's influence and sagacity, coupled with the united strength of the Muslim Delegation, secured for their nation twelve out of the fourteen points. Sind and Frontier became self-governing provinces and gained the same status as that of other provinces in the sub-continent.

During the deliberations of the Joint Select Committee in summer 1933, I heard in one of the Secretary of State for India's dinner parties that Mr. Jinnah was thinking of buying a house and settling in London. I was very perturbed and could not sleep the whole night. I rang up Miss Jinnah in the morning and she asked me to lunch with them. After the meeting, when I went to their house, which was about eight miles out of London, Mr. Jinnah was sitting and working in the lounge. I went and stood before him and asked, "Is it true what I heard last evening

that you are planning to settle in London?" He replied that there was some truth in it. I said, "Mr. Jinnah, you cannot do it. Father is gone and there is no one but you to pilot the nation's boat and you have to return to your country." He said, "Do you really think so?" I replied, "Not only I do think so, but I have come to take you back home. The nation and the country need you." Throughout the meal, we went on talking about the reorganisation of the Muslim League and making plans for putting new life into it.

Thinking of my talks with the Quaid-i-Azam, I keep wondering how much one learnt from such a towering personality in so short a time. My daughter, Mumtaz, better known as 'Tazi', had been of the nationalistic point of view and had leanings towards the Congress. In a small dinner party in New Delhi, I said before Mr. Jinnah that I would give Rs. 1,000 to the League the day Mumtaz joined it. Mr. Jinnah immediately said that the two annas that Tazi would pay as membership fee with conviction and belief in the League ideals would be more precious to him than any donation. During the Parliamentary Delegation and the Cabinet Mission's talks and negotiations, Tazi's belief in the socalled nationalism was shattered and she saw Mr. Jinnah and joined the Muslim League. Work amongst the women in old Delhi was entrusted to her and some of the Congress women workers said that Tazi had made the women believe in the League overnight. After every talk with the Quaid, she would return home full of enthusiasm, spirit and hope and would aften say that to work for a leader like the Quaid-i-Azam was not only a joy and a pleasure, but one felt so elated to be one of the workers of his corps. He infused such spirit into the young and the old equally.

The Pakistan Resolution was to be placed before the Council of the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah wanted to know my reaction and he sent Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman to see me. We had over two hours talk and one could never forget the Quaid's speech in the Council. The Resolution was passed unanimously with the wholehearted support of everyone present in the League Council meeting. How could have anyone differed after that balanced, well-thought-out and convincing speech?

Mr. Jinnah asked Mr. Hasan Ispahani and me to visit the United States and explain the case of the Muslim League to the United Nations Delegations as well as to the American citizens. We were preparing to leave but the officials were not helpful. I went to see Mr. Jinnah and told him of our difficulties. He rang up the high official concerned and the strength that he revealed

in talking to him was exemplary. Only Mr. Jinnah could have ticked him off as he did and our path was made clear.

Mr. Jinnah cabled to us in New York to join him in London. We lunched with the Quaid a number of times at the Claridges' Hotel, where he was staying. Hassan Ispahani was talking about the Punjabi Muslims, the so-called swordarm, who had done nothing to achieve Pakistan. I listened quietly for two or three days and then I could not stand it any more. I said that it was not the rank and file, but the leaders, who were responsible for it. The Quaid asked at once, "What do you mean by leaders? To-day, every Muslim Leaguer is a leader." I said if that is so, then Punjab will not lag behind other provinces in working hard for the ideal. The movement was launched, the Khizar Ministry had to resign and the British Government did climb down from their high pedestal and had to think of Pakistan as a reality.

While in London, Dr. Buchman, founder of the Moral Re-Armament Movement, invited the Quaid-i-Azam and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to see their play and have supper with him, and wanted me to persuade the Quaid to accept the invitation. Hassan and I had seen the play in New York and had liked it immensely. Mr. Jinnah agreed, and after the play when we went to Dr. Buchman's house, I said that I had asked the Quaid to attend the supper because I wanted Londoners to know him. On that one of the guests said, "London knows Mr. Jinnah." I replied, "No, London knows of him, but does not know him." Mr. Jinnah was the life of the party, talked of his grand-children and gave us a number of anecdotes. Some of the guests thanked me for providing an opportunity for them to know Mr. Jinnah.

A telephone message from Lahore Government House, asking me to proceed to New Delhi as the Viceroy, Lord Louis Mountbatten, would like me to dine with him the next day. As soon as I reached New Delhi, I went to see the Quaid-i-Azam and told him about the message that I had received. I was glad to learn from him that he and Miss Jinnah and Nawabzada and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan were also dining with the Viceroy on that evening. It was the same day that Mr. Jinnah talked to me of a constitution for Pakistan. He told me that he had been working on a constitution for the last fifteen months and it was almost ready. He also said that he had based it more or less on the New French Constitution. I went all over New Delhi to get a copy of the French Constitution, but I could not find one.

In the evening, when we reached the Viceroy's House, we

found that the Maharaja of Patiala was already there. After dinner, Lord Louis came, sat near me and whispered in my ear that he had practically kidnapped the Maharaja from Chehl. He said that this was the last chance for the Muslims to settle with the Sikhs. He said that he had called me to New Delhi to help him to succeed in his effectors for settlement. He told me that if we did not come to a settlement, Punjab and Bengal would have to be divided and there would be no way out of it. He had forced Patiala to have a talk with Mr. Jinnah directly so that an agreed solution might be found. The Quaid and the Maharaja sat on one sofa and talked and later Nawabzada Liaquat Ali was asked to join them. We were at the Viceroy's House until nearly twelve o'clock. Just before leaving, I told the Quaid-i-Azam everything that the Viceroy had said to me. I learnt from Mr. Jinnah that he was to meet the Maharaja again the next day. I went to see the Quaid in the morning and we had a long and frank talk. The negotiations went on and the Quaid-i-Azam agreed to give the Sikhs a compact Sikh State within the Punjab. In spite of it, they insisted on having a separate Sikh Army. This, of course, was out of the question and the negotiations broke down. I returned home very disappointed and disgusted.

Mr. Clark Getts, the head of a well-known touring agency, who had arranged tours for Mr. Churchill and Mrs. Pandit, wrote to me in October 1947 asking me to visit the United States on a lecture tour and explain all about Pakistan to the American citizens. He said that people in the States were anxious to know why the sub-continent had been divided and Pakistan created. He had written in the letter that they would arrange an extensive tour and would pay 25,000 dollars. Mr. Jinnah was in Karachi and I showed the letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who was in Lahore. He advised me to accept the invitation, which I did. When the Quaid-i-Azam came to Lahore, I placed the letter before him and asked for his kind advice and permission. He said, "Go by all means if you want to and I will not stand in your way. But if you ask for a friend's advice, my reply would be, stick to your work as a legislator and do not swerve from the path that you have been following and fritter away your energy in outside activities." Then he told me how many times people had tried to divert him from the road that he had chalked out for himself, but he had stuck to his guns and consistently refused to turn his attention into other channels and that is why his efforts had been crowned with success. He further said that his advice would be not to undertake the tour and devote myself to a legislator's good work. I told Mr. Jinnah that I would not accept the invitation and

cabled my refusal to Mr. Clark Getts.

I had my last meal with the Quaid-i-Azam in March 1948 during the Budget Session of the Constituent Assembly. Nawab of Mamdot, Chief Minister of the Punjab, Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat with their wives and two or three other Punjabi members of the Assembly had been asked to lunch at the Governor-General's House. I had been placed on Mr. Jinnah's right and the Quaid was in a happy mood. In November 1947, I had found him upset, sad and depressed because of the massacres and owing to the influx of refugees in lakhs, and I was happy to find that the depression had gone. While talking, he said that he had brought the Central Government to Karachi as that was the only province that he had sent an invitation. Shaukat said, "Come to the Punjab now." He replied that the invitation was too late. At that time I thought of the day when it was suggested that Mr. Jinnah should be asked to bring the Government to the Punjab and the reply was : "Let the old man go to Karachi." The Quaid was in a very pensive mood and he went on telling us about his arrival in Karachi and what happened after it. He had found that there were only twenty crore of rupees in the State Treasury and bills of Rs. 32 crores outstanding. Bare offices without anything and they had to start from a scratch. In seven and a half months, the position had changed and a surplus budget had been presented to the Assembly. He said that those who used to say that Pakistan could not be a viable State had better take note of all this.

Yes, the Almighty God had been kind!

Pakistan came into existence, became a reality and the nation had a country, a flag and a national anthem. All this was achieved by the iron will and determination of one man, born on this lucky date.

PAKISTAN ZINDABAD!

Quaid-i-Azam and Muslim Women

BY

BEGUM GETI ARA BASHIR AHMAD

[Begum Bashir Ahmad is the second daughter of the late Mian Sir Mohammad Shafi. Like her elder sister she has always taken an active part in the social and cultural advancement of Muslim women. She is among those who organised the women's wing of the All-India Muslim League and actively participated in the struggle which brought down the Unionist regime in the Punjab in 1947. She continues to take interest in social welfare work and contributes articles to papers.]

How inspiring was the personality of our beloved Quaid who, without the sword or armed strength or the Police, cast a spell on the mind of the Muslim nation and led it to its goal within the short span of seven years, by dint of his political sagacity and cogent reasoning! How fascinating was the great personality whose magnetism attracted young and old, women and children, rich and poor, and at whose bidding millions were ready to sacrifice their all. History shows that no individual enjoyed such immense popularity and confidence of an entire nation to such an extent. The hundred million Muslims had the fullest confidence in the leadership of their Quaid as he was honest, incorruptible, trustworthy, righteous and diligent. His determination was like a rock; he was courageous and intrepid. His politics was free from deceit and falsehood. He was an embodiment of truthfulness and sincerity. Every fibre of his being was saturated with feeling for the *Millat*. Alas! that feeling heart is no more.

I first met the Quaid-i-Azam at Simla in 1920 when my father Mian Sir Mohammad Shafi brought out of Purdah the ladies of our family—my mother, my sister Begum Shah Nawaz, my sister-in-law Begum Rafi and myself. My father was then Law Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council,

He had been a member of the Central Assembly for many years and all his life he fought for the rights of the Muslims. He had a feeling for his nation and was a contemporary of the Quaid-i-Azam. The sessions of the Indian Legislative Assembly used to take place at Simla during the months of August and September. The Quaid-i-Azam used to go to Simla every year. At this stage the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi was waging the struggle for freedom. The Quaid-i-Azam was always in the forefront of the struggle to liberate the sub-continent from the hold of British Imperialism and he was counted among the top-ranking politicians of India. After having participated in the Congress movement for several years, he reached the conclusion that the Congress really stood for Hindu Raj and the hundred million Muslims could not expect justice at its hands.

During the sessions of the Central Assembly my father used to invite Mr. Jinnah, his wife Ruttie Jinnah, Pandit Motilal Nehru and several other Hindu, Muslim and Parsi leaders to parties at his house. Sometimes when I am sleepless a panoramic view of the political evolution of my nation runs before my mind's eye in the solitude of the night—how the products of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan's educational movement, the leading Muslims from the eleven provinces assembled at Simla and Delhi! These leaders strove to secure the rights and demands of the Muslims in the political field and paved the way for Pakistan.

The Quaid-i-Azam in his social life was the picture of refinement and culture and his manners were extremely elegant. His sartorial taste was exquisite and his personality was magnetic. The visitors' gallery in the Assembly used to be crowded with people eager to listen to his remarkable speeches which were an example of fascinating eloquence. We often went to the Assembly to hear these debates. The Quaid-i-Azam's speeches reflected the British parliamentary style and mode of reasoning.

In 1942 after the session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, at which my husband Mian Bashir Ahmad was the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the Maharaja of Kapurthala gave a lunch in honour of the Quaid-i-Azam, and Mian Abdul Aziz Falak Paima, then Prime Minister of Kapurthala, held a garden party in his honour. We were returning to Lahore along with the Quaid-i-Azam and Mohtarma Miss Fatima Jinnah in the same car. Finding the Quaid-i-Azam in a relaxed mood I put him a question in the course of conversation. I said: "Quaid-i-Azam, my niece Mumtaz, my daughter Rifa'at,

and other educated young girls who are zealously organising the Muslim League Women's National Guard wish to know that if Pakistan is achieved through this political struggle, will the foundations of our new State be laid on conservation or will it assume the shape of progressive countries?" The Quaid-i-Azam smiled and said: "Tell your young girls, I am a progressive Muslim leader. I, therefore, take my sister along with me to backward areas like Baluchistan and N.-W.F.P. and she also attends the sessions of the All-India Muslim League and other public meetings. *Insha Allah*, Pakistan will be a progressive country in the building of which women will be seen working shoulder to shoulder with men in every department of life."

The Muslim nation was hopelessly scattered in 1937. Dark clouds of slavery and degradation surrounded the Muslims from all sides. The Congress was victorious in the elections and it looked as if Hindu imperialism would sway over the entire sub-continent. At this dark hour our Quaid-i-Azam realised the gravity of the situation. With the probity and insight he diagnosed the ills of his nation and called upon the Muslims of India to rally round one platform and flag. Recognising his truthfulness, integrity, and extraordinary political acumen they entrusted their political destiny to him. The annual session of the All-India Muslim League took place at Patna in 1938. At this session our Quaid appointed a Central Muslim League Women's Committee composed of women representatives from all provinces. This Committee was instructed to set up Provincial and District Women's Committees, enrol women as primary members and promote political consciousness among Muslim women. This proposal was placed before the open session and passed unanimously. Thus the Quaid-i-Azam showed the political path to the Muslim women and exhorted us to work shoulder to shoulder with our brethren in political activity. Our sole political organisation in this way recognised the Muslim woman's status by giving her an honoured place in political life. Leading Muslim women were nominated to the Councils of the Provincial and Central Muslim Leagues. This was the first time that Muslim women began to participate in political life in large numbers.

When the Pakistan Resolution was passed at the session of the All-India Muslim League at Lahore in 1940, attended by about 200,000 people, the Muslim women reposing full confidence in the Quaid-i-Azam took the oath to sacrifice their all for Pakistan. During this historic session we arranged a luncheon party for the Quaid-i-Azam at "Al-Manzar" on 25 March. It was attended by about 200 guests from all provinces

of India, who included leading men and women delegates. Among the lady guests were Lady Haroon and Lady Hidayatullah (Sind) Begum Azaz Rasool, Begum Habibullah and Begum Khaliquzzaman (Lucknow), Begum Husain Malik and Begum Ikramullah (Delhi), Miss Fatima Jinnah, Begum Hafizuddin and Begum Chundrigar (Bombay), Begum Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Begum Zari Sarfaraz (Peshawar), Begum Shah Nawaz, Fatima Begum, Begum Abdul Aziz and Begum Tasadduq Hussain (Lahore).

Our Quaid-i-Azam used to be very pleased with the zeal and enthusiasm displayed by the Muslim women and their fervour and effort in the cause of Pakistan. We invited him to meetings attended by thousands of women and submitted to him the report of our activities. He always encouraged us and appreciated our services and dedicated efforts. He received us cordially and told us to continue the struggle for freedom with courage and determination till we reached our goal.

Thus it will be seen that the whole life of the founder of our State, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, presents to us a beautiful picture of high and noble moral values, of integrity, truth, honesty and hard work. It is now the duty of the women of Pakistan to inculcate these noble qualities of character in their children and uphold these high moral standards in society and in our public life.

The Quaid-i-Azam as I Knew Him

BY

BEGUM SHAISTA IKRAMULLAH

[Begum Ikramullah is the daughter of the late Sir Hassan Suhrawardy. She is among the pioneers of the Muslim women's movement for participation in the social, cultural and political life of the Muslim nation. She is a talented writer and speaker. She represented Pakistan at meetings of the United Nations Organisation. She was also member of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan from 1947 to 1954. She is now Pakistan's Ambassador in Morocco.]

In October 1941 my father came from England on leave and came to stay with me in my house in New Delhi. One morning he said to me, "I am going to see Mr. Jinnah. You come along with me."

"Oh, I don't think I will," said I. "I believe he is very rude and snubs everybody."

"Don't be silly," said my father. "That is just Hindu propaganda. I want you to meet him."

So I went rather reluctantly and apprehensively. Our house was less than ten minutes' walk from Mr. Jinnah's and in the car it took even less, so we arrived a little earlier than ten, which was the time for Mr. Jinnah's appointment. We sat down in a small room leading from the hall prepared to wait, but the doorman who had taken in our cards came back and asked us to follow him. To our surprise we found ourselves being led into the dining-room where the Quaid-i-Azam and Miss Jinnah, his sister, were still sitting as they had not yet finished breakfast. Thinking that the servant had made a mistake (probably he had), we tried to back out, but before we could do so the Quaid-i-Azam got up with a welcoming smile and came towards my father with outstretched hands.

I remember that scene so clearly—the beautifully proportioned room, the early morning sun pouring through the windows, Miss Jinnah sitting looking most elegant at the head of the table that

was laid with exquisite china and gleaming silver; the Quaid-i-Azam pushing back his chair and getting up on seeing us, his snowwhite napkin sliding from his knees as he did so, his quick gesture in stooping to pick it up and put it on the table, and then, coming, hands outstretched, with a most radiant smile on his face. He smiled very rarely, but when he did his smile was the kind that lights up the whole face. That is how I first saw him—and that is how I see him over and over again in my mind's eye, each detail as clear as if it had happened only yesterday.

My father had certain proposals which he wanted to discuss. He felt that, as Adviser to the Secretary of State for India, he might be able to bring about some sort of understanding between the British Government and the Muslim League. The Quaid listened to what father had to say very attentively and began to explain his point of view. And then, before I knew what I was doing, I was asking the Quaid questions and he was answering them!—not impatiently or brusquely but kindly and in great detail. Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, the leader of the majority of the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent, reported to be arrogant and dictatorial, was allowing a completely inexperienced, unimportant young person to argue with him and was taking the trouble of meeting her arguments! The wonder of it did not strike me at the moment as I was carried away by the fascination of listening to the Quaid.

Now after nearly twenty years, during which I have met some very great statesmen, I still maintain that to listen to the Quaid and not be convinced was not possible. It was not that he overruled you, it was not that he did not reply to your argument, but that he was so thoroughly, so single-mindedly, so intensely convinced of the truth of his point of view that you could not help but be convinced also. You felt that if a man with an intellect so much superior to yours believed this, then it must be right. Call it hypnotism or what you will, that is the effect he had it on all who came in contact with him. Anyone whom he thought it worth his while to try and convince, he always succeeded in convincing. Even last-ditch opponents like Fazl-ul-Haq and Khizar Hayat have admitted that while face-to-face with the Quaid-i-Azam they never dared to disagree, and they were the Premiers of two of the biggest provinces of India, and Mohammad Ali Jinnah was only the President of the Muslim League—and the Muslim League, according to these gentlemen, was only a band of rugged ruffians! That he should have

thought it worth his while to try to convince me of the rightness of his cause I shall never cease to wonder at. But, because he did so, I am today in Pakistan.

It was ten o'clock when we had come. By one fifteen Miss Jinnah appeared to remind the Quaid that it was time for lunch and that after lunch he had other people coming. My father and I realised with a shock that we had stayed over three hours. It would be trite to say that the hours had flown like minutes.

It was during the Simla Conference that I managed to get the opportunity of seeing and talking to the Quaid a great deal. I would go to see him almost every day, staying sometimes only for a brief period and leaving after making polite inquiries about his health, and other times staying for quite a while listening to him explaining his point of view on the controversial issues then at stake. This was a unique privilege and I am really very glad that I got this opportunity, though looking back on it now I am amazed at my audacity. To realise the extent of it, one has to know the awe and reverence in which the Quaid was held. He had the reputation for being aloof, unapproachable and remote. Even the members of the Working Committee did not dare to see him without an appointment and that I should have the temerity to do so can only be explained by the naivete of youth. I did so, in the first instance, on an impulse, impelled by my desire to see the Quaid. After I had seen the procession of the Quaid's arrival, I had rushed to the Hotel Cecil and thought that I had covered the distance in record time. I got to the lounge too late. He had already gone upstairs to his room, everybody was still standing around, and seeing me said : "You only just missed him. He has just gone upstairs." I was terribly disappointed and I took my courage in both hands and decided to go upstairs. I hoped to see him in the passage, but he had already gone inside. The Pathan door-keeper knew me from Delhi ; he gave me a broad grin of welcome and allowed me to knock timidly at the door. The Quaid opened it tentatively, wondering who was bothering him again so soon after the excitement of the reception. Seeing me, he very kindly held the door farther open and invited me in. I stayed a few moments only to make some inquiries about his health and about Miss Jinnah who had stayed behind because of illness.

The detractors of the Quaid often say that he was arrogant, ungracious and rude. I can only say to this that I never found him so. He was aloof certainly and did not find it easy to make conversation, nor did he try to exercise the facile charm which so many political leaders put on. But I always found him extremely courteous, patient and kind, not only during the fort-

night or so in Simla, when I saw him almost every day, but also later on in Delhi where I saw him fairly frequently whenever he came up.

I still continued to meet a number of prominent Congress leaders. I was constantly hearing their point of view, which raised doubts in my mind and I would say to them, "I will go and ask the Quaid and I did. He always patiently explained the reason for his decision to me and I would go back convinced. So it became a joke and whenever I said, "All right, I shall ask the Quaid," my husband would say, "What is the use? He will say, 'Begum Ikramullah, you do not understand,' he will explain his point to you and you will come back convinced."

He did not try to win people over by emotional appeal or cheap flattery. His appeal was always to the intellect and his reasoning was clear and logical. He expected people who joined the Muslim League to suffer for it. He did not consider that they were doing him a personal favour by it or were justified in taking a martyred or heroic attitude. Therefore, when *The Hindustan Times* printed an article attacking me, I went to the Quaid seething with indignation. I did not find him very sympathetic. Even to-day I am extremely sensitive to criticism and this was my first taste of it. It had upset me greatly. The Quaid sensed my uneasiness and asked what the matter was. "Have you seen *The Hindustan Times*?" I asked. "Yes," he replied. "There is a nasty article in it attacking me," I said. There were always stacks of newspapers by the Quaid's chair. He took *The Hindustan Times* from the pile, turned to the page I had mentioned and glanced over it. Then he carefully folded the paper and put it back, without saying anything to me for a moment or so. Then he said: "Every day the newspapers say much worse things about me. What would happen if I let it upset me? This is to be expected." I felt abashed and rather disappointed for I had expected lashings of sympathy, instead of which I had an astringent put on my wound. When I rose to leave, he added: "You must not let small things upset you." In later years, when I have encountered meanness and malice, I have remembered these words of the Quaid.

Tension was growing daily and the communal feeling was even poisoning social relationships. Several of my Hindu friends dropped me completely, and the relationship with others also became rather strained and difficult. On one occasion at an after dinner parlour game, disparaging remarks were made about the Quaid-i-Azam which made me flare up and so cause a scene. Here again, when I repeated the story to the Quaid, he made me see what a trivial matter it was. I mention this because he has

been accused of personal vanity. Had that charge been true he would not have considered even a silly attack on him as a trivial matter. It also shows his patience and forbearance in allowing me to discuss such trivialities, realising that to me they did not appear as such and that I might need a training which he tried to provide. I think it was a rare privilege, almost a unique one and it has left its impact on my life for ever. There are not many people who enjoyed this privilege, but those few who did became, like me, staunch adherents, and their faith in him was unshakable.

My husband had not seen the Quaid for two years, when we had all lunched at his place. But at the end of the Simla Conference, when I went to say good-bye to the Quaid he came to pick me up and met the Quaid again. He discussed the cause that had led to the failure of the Simla Conference, and I remember his looking very thoughtful and preoccupied as we stood at the door of the Hotel Cecil waiting for our rickshaw to be called. Then looking at the hills, remote and silent witnesses to human conflict and turmoil, he said : "You're right. He really means to have Pakistan." "Of course, he does," I said indignantly.

That was so, but it was not because the Quaid disregarded other people's points of view or forced his opinion on them ; he did not. Not even on anyone as unimportant as myself. Only he had what few people possess in this world—an absolutely single-minded conviction. It somehow had the effect of removing all one's doubts. To say that he was a dictator and forced the Mussulmans to accept his idea of Pakistan is ridiculous, because he had no arbitrary powers—only the force of his personality.

He never made an emotional appeal to one's loyalty. He appealed to one's reason and put the case down in a clear and logical manner. I was to experience this when later he refused to let me accept the Government's nomination to the Pacific Relations Conference, but after he had succeeded in convincing me by cold reasoning, and as I got up to leave, he said : "One day you will go as the League's representative with honour and with the right to speak on their behalf." He kept his promise. Within six weeks of the establishment of Pakistan he appointed me as a delegate to the United Nations. I could not go then as my youngest daughter Sarvath was only a few weeks old. So he sent me the next year. It is one of my greatest regrets that he did not live to tell me whether he thought his choice was justified, but all this was to come much later.

The great part that Miss Jinnah has played in bringing the Muslim women forward is not fully realised abroad. The

Quaid-i-Azam died just a year after the establishment of Pakistan, a year crowded with important work, and since his death she has not sought publicity and limelight. But to those who have the privilege of knowing her, the part she has played in this great drama is well known. So many women now doing very important work for Pakistan were given their first job to do by Miss Jinnah. She is an extremely good judge of character and capabilities and she has a quality especially rare in prominent people that she does not get taken in by flattery. She can assess a person pretty shrewdly almost on the first meeting, but no amount of trying would get you an inch further with her unless she herself wishes it. She is extremely reserved and makes friends with great difficulty. It is my greatest privilege to have enjoyed her friendship for twenty years. Her kindness and advice to me in very difficult time have been invaluable, and when she is a friend she is a real friend, putting her friend's welfare before her own personal interest. Many a time, after I had plunged into Muslim League work, has she restrained my enthusiasm because she realised it was against my interests to go headlong into politics in this way. She has never abused my enthusiasm and always understood my difficulties. In short, she has been truly a guide, philosopher and friend.

Finding and setting other women to do useful jobs was by no means Miss Jinnah's only work, though that in itself is no small achievement, for not everybody has the knack of finding the right person for the right place or giving the right person an opportunity. Wheresoever she went with the Quaid-i-Azam she tried to start something useful. The first Women's Industrial Homes in Karachi, Lahore and Quetta were all begun by her in the brief and crowded year when he was Governor-General of Pakistan, or I should really say in the first few months, because towards the end he was ill and she spent her time nursing him in the quiet hill station of Ziarat. In those few months she started not only these Women's Industrial Homes, which have been a pattern and model for others since, but also a Women's Relief Committee. She had planned to convert this into a permanent organisation for social service, but here again she did not have the time. She encouraged the Pakistan Women's National Guard.

The shattering blow of the Quaid's death which made all Pakistan reel was naturally for her a very great personal loss. It took her some time to get over it. Meanwhile her ideas were put into effect by others. Since then much has happened in Pakistan which has saddened her, but she has refrained from interfering. Her statements on important occasions are a reminder of the ideals on which Pakistan was founded.

Quaid-i-Azam as a Friend

BY

MATLUB-UL-HASSAN SAIYED

[Mr. Saiyed was Private Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam from 1940 to 1944 and as such had exceptional opportunities of observing him at close quarters. He gives an intimate picture of the human side of the Quaid-i-Azam.]

We usually view the greatness of personalities in the light of their personal achievements. When we think of some eminent person our mind turns to such things as the battles he has fought and how he won them. We talk of how his touch turned a stone into a diamond, but we do not care to recall that this great man perhaps played marbles in his childhood. His courage and high resolve in the fields of war and peace, his fortitude and determination, his limitless power of holding the audience spell-bound from the political platform—these factors so overshadow our minds that we never feel the need of visualising as to how the same warrior, the same valiant admiral, the same sagacious statesman spent his moments of leisure.

It is true that those who have dedicated every minute of their life to the service of others seldom have any leisure. It depends on your good luck whether you are able to approach your hero in one of these rare moments and he talks to you lightly, reclining on his sofa. In these moments alone you could enjoy the mellowed flavour of his humour and his witty remarks which is the soul of conversation. You would draw your chair near your hero and then you will form an idea of his likes and dislikes. How he holds the cigarette in his fingers, what foods he relishes, what are his favourite authors and books, what colours please him and, even more, the motions of his eyes, the movements of his hands—all these things would disclose many hidden secrets. Thus your hero will appear in a garb whose warp and woof reveal his humanity, his gentleness

and charm.

This is exactly true of our Quaid-i-Azam whose death was felt as a personal loss by every Pakistani. The nation felt the loss its Quaid not only because he was its guide for the future but because of the intense consciousness that death snatched away from us a personality who not only gave us a State and a free homeland but whose life was the embodiment of humanity. Therefore, every study of the Quaid-i-Azam's great personality which does not reflect his human qualities is incomplete.

As a friend the Quaid-i-Azam was vivacious and charming. In fact, not a moment of his private life was devoid of vivacity and humour. In his own informal circle the Quaid-i-Azam usually conducted himself without ceremony. But unfortunately his pre-occupations did not allow him to spare time for his close friends. His public life and its responsibilities had so overshadowed all other things that very little time of his life was his own. His only relaxation in this busy life was to exchange a few pleasantries with those around him at the time of meals or tea.

Mr. Mahmood Hasan who was Editor of *The Deccan Times* of Madras and later Manager of *Dawn* was once dining with Mr. Jinnah. As usual Mr. Jinnah ate very little and then began to play the knife on his nails. His friends were familiar with this habit of his. Mr. Mahmood who was still eating felt embarrassed and said to Mr. Jinnah, "You have eaten practically nothing." Mr. Jinnah replied, "People suffer because they eat much."

I met an American correspondent. He said, "When I was in England I heard so many things about Muhammad Ali Jinnah in British circles that I got interested in him. Therefore, on receiving instruction from my paper to proceed to India I made up my mind to see this great leader on reaching the country. Accordingly, after I had arrived in India, I met Jinnah; I found him to be greater than I expected." I asked the American correspondent as to how he became an admirer of Mr. Jinnah. He related a joke of Mr. Jinnah: "In England a lady asked Jinnah whose progeny he was—Shivaji's or Aurangzeb's—the two religious leaders of India. Mr. Jinnah answered, 'Of both, madam'."

In Lahore Mr. Jinnah attended a meeting in a Girls' College. It was a Muslim College and the girls observed Purdah, but they did not observe Purdah before Mr. Jinnah. On return from the meeting Mr. Jinnah related the incident to his companions which led to the following conversation:

Miss Jinnah: The girls did not observe Purdah perhaps because you are an old man.

Mr. Jinnah: I don't think so. This is no compliment to me.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan: The girls regard you as their political sovereign and they considered it the best way of expressing their feelings that they should not observe Purdah before you.

Mr. Jinnah: Yes. That means something.

Once I was accompanying Mr. Jinnah in a car from Mysore to Ootacamund. Miss Jinnah was with us. We had to traverse a distance of about eighty miles. The car was moving slowly; therefore the journey took several hours. On the way Mr. Jinnah said he would like to get down from the car to stretch his legs and have tea. There was a railway station near by. We went there. Miss Jinnah got busy arranging for tea. The Quaid-i-Azam began to walk on the platform. As he walked he kept talking to me. I felt as if the people recognised him. There was a commotion at the station. I drew Mr. Jinnah's attention to this. He laughed and said, "It's a storm in a tea-cup and it will soon be over."

After the British Cabinet Mission's parleys in India the Quaid-i-Azam went to England. One day he was telling the Press representatives as to how the Congress policy had harmed the Muslims. During the discussion one of the representatives said, "But, Sir, you were once in the Congress." The Quaid-i-Azam retorted, "I was once in a primary school also."

The Quaid-i-Azam was very fond of collecting carpets. He indulged this taste even when he was hard up. In spite of his keenness he was not sentimental about carpets. He bought them for use and no one could make him pay a higher price for his favourite carpets merely by talking about them. He would look at a Persian carpet and his keen eye at once formed a correct idea of its value. No carpet dealer could approach him merely with a view to extorting a higher price. Once a carpet dealer came to the Quaid-i-Azam with beautiful Persian carpets. The Quaid-i-Azam had all the carpets spread over the lawns in front of his house. The bright rays of the sun added to the beauty and splendour of these precious specimens of Persian craftsmanship. But the Quaid-i-Azam with his keen sight correctly assessed the price of each one of the carpets.

Wherever the Quaid-i-Azam went he was surrounded by his admirers. He did not like it; therefore he tried to ensure that very few people should know of his comings and goings. But

when he had time he would receive the visitors from far and near with the greatest cordiality. In 1941 the Quaid-i-Azam went on a tour of South India and stayed in the State Guest House in Mysore. Some people walked a distance of twenty miles to see him. He had high temperature and was also worried by the political situation in the country. But when he was informed that people had come to see him he immediately came out and talked to them for about an hour.

It may strike you as strange but it is a fact that he was not so much impressed by the opinions and decisions of his associates as by the opinions of his humble followers. His devotees wrote to him all sorts of things. He received hundreds of such letters every day. He opened them with his own hands and if he were not engrossed in some important national problem he would read every letter from beginning to end. He could gauge the true feelings of hundreds of thousands of his followers by reading these letters. The writers of these letters, whose names were never heard of in the political world, also criticised his work, even though they were his faithful devotees. Some were so audacious that they did not confine themselves to criticism but also demanded explanation. The Quaid-i-Azam replied to them as far as possible.

Once Mr. Jinnah was travelling by car. He came to a village. Many admirers and followers immediately gathered to welcome him. The crowd requested the Quaid-i-Azam to get down from the car. He came out and was garlanded and presented with a purse. Muslim League slogans too were raised. Among those who were raising slogans was a ten-year child. The Quaid-i-Azam beckoned to him to come near and asked him, "You are crying Pakistan Zindabad. Do you understand what Pakistan means ?" The child answered : "Of course, I do not know so much about Pakistan as you do. But I know this much—Pakistan means that the Muslims should rule in those parts of India where they are in majority and the Hindus should rule where they are in majority." The Quaid-i-Azam was fully satisfied with the answer given by the innocent child, affectionately patted him on the back and bade him good-bye. But he always remembered this small incident, and it was with reference to it that he always claimed that the voice of the All-India Muslim League, in spite of insufficient means of propaganda, had penetrated every nook and corner of the country.

[Adapted from *Anjam*, Karachi, 25 December, 1964.]

I Prefer Defeat to Dishonesty

BY

G. ALLANA

[Mr. G. Allana, besides being a prominent business magnate, is a well-known writer and poet. He was an active worker in the Pakistan Movement, being a member of the All-India Muslim League Council. He was Mayor of Karachi Municipal Corporation and a member of the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly. He is widely travelled and has represented Pakistan several times at the United Nations Organisation and its organs. He is the author of a number of books of poetry and travelogue.]

In the year 1946 the future of the Muslims of this subcontinent stood at the crossroads of history. The Second World War had ended ; the ravages and devastation wrought by it had left Britain in a state of utmost exhaustion. Its leaders could read the writing on the wall that seemed to foretell the end of one-time mighty British Empire over which, their forefathers had said, the sun never sets.

Britons no longer ruled the waves. Their overseas possessions were in a state of political ferment and the bitter opposition to colonialism that the national movement had generated in the countries of Asia and Africa left Britain with no alternative but to relinquish what it had possessed for over a century, to grant independence rather than to perpetuate political bondage. Britain was too exhausted to shoulder the burden of a far-flung overseas Empire.

India was the worst trouble-spot in the British Empire where the cauldron of national agitation had reached boiling point, and the smouldering volcano that had for two decades smouldered with subterranean rumblings could at any time erupt and the moving finger of history would then write that the British Empire came to a violent end in India.

The foresight of the Labour Party was beginning to assert itself over the reactionaryism of the Conservative Party's last-ditch fighters, and it was clear that it was only a matter of months before the British left India and gave that country complete independence.

The Congress Party at that time was intoxicated with the wine of success and in their arrogance they shouted from the house-tops from Kashmir to Cape Comorin that the day was not far when the Congress would rule over the length and breadth of India.

The Muslims of the sub-continent, under the inspiring and sagacious leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, saw in this dream of the Congress complete domination of the Hindus, 66% of the total population, over the Muslims, whom the Congress looked upon as a mere minority community.

The right of the Muslims to establish their own homeland, Pakistan, in areas with Muslim majority population had been officially put forward since 1940 by the All-India Muslim League. But it was merely the expression of a goal ; it did not spell out explicitly the details of a scheme for the establishment of Pakistan. Fortunately for the Muslims they had one leader who towered over all of them, who took over the strategy of the fight entirely in his own hands and fought the battle for Pakistan with the consummate skill of a gifted general.

And in the year 1946 the Quaid-i-Azam was a very worried man. He knew that public opinion in the British Labour Party was pro-Congress and not in sympathy with the Muslim League, and Labour was the ruling party in England. He knew it was being argued that some of the Muslim majority provinces did not have Muslim League governments.

In the Frontier Province a Congress Ministry was functioning with Dr. Khan Sahib as the Chief Minister. In the Punjab the Unionists were in power though the Muslim League was the single biggest party, and in Bengal the Muslim League Ministry was a coalition Ministry. Fortunately there were going to be general elections for the Sind Legislative Assembly for the second time in November 1946, and the Quaid-i-Azam was anxious that at least in Sind there should be full-fledged Muslim League Ministry.

It is interesting to recall the composition of the Sind Legislative Assembly at that time. The House consisted of a total membership of 60 out of which 35 seats were reserved for the Muslims. The question before the Quaid-i-Azam was to capture

all the 35 Muslim seats, so that the Muslim League could have an absolute majority in the House.

The Sind Muslim League had set up an Election Committee. I was appointed Secretary-General of the Committee and Mr. Yousuf Haroon its Chairman. The Hindus of Sind were rich and powerful; the entire financial resources of this wealthy community stood solidly behind Congress candidates and such of the Muslims who at their behest had agreed to oppose candidates set up by the Muslim League.

As against them the Sind Muslim League was as poor as a church mouse and each of its candidates had to depend on his own financial resources. At that time motor transport and petrol business in Sind were in the hands of the Hindus and there was an organised move to deny transport and petrol to Muslim League candidates.

The Quaid-i-Azam came to Karachi about six weeks before the polling day. He was staying at 'Casuri-nas' now known as 'Kasr-i-Naz' on Club Road as the guest of Mir Ghulam Ali Talpur. He called members of the Election Committee and discussed with us prospects of the coming elections. He said: "It is vital for us to win all the 35 seats. Sind is a province that can be of vital assistance to us in the cause of Pakistan to-day, conditions in the Frontier, the Punjab and Bengal being what they are. This is the only province where we can have a full-fledged Muslim League Ministry. I want you to win all the 35 seats. If you fail, then our cause will receive a severe set-back."

During the course of these discussions he learnt from us that we had no funds whatsoever to be of effective assistance to our candidates and that in the absence of money for purposes of propaganda, literature, transport, many of our candidates might lose. He generously placed at our disposal rupees three lakhs and charged us with the task of winning the elections.

When he returned to Karachi after about a fortnight he called me alone and asked me to give him a true and honest picture of the situation. I said that as things stood then, and elections were still about a month ahead, we may lose 5 out of 35 seats. He asked why. I explained that in four constituencies our candidates were weak and they did not have enough financial resources to organise a systematic election campaign and their opponents had the full backing of the Hindus and the Congress. In the fifth Mr. G. M. Syed was a powerful candidate as against our candidate Akbar who was a new-comer in provincial politics. I said that the money at our disposal was not enough.

"How much more money do you think you must have at your disposal ?"

"Sir, I think I would need at least one lakh more to make our position impregnable."

He thought over the situation for a few minutes, then he said : "You see the money I have is not my personal money. It is the money that belongs to our nation ; I am merely its trustee. It is my responsibility to see that we get 16 annas worth of result for every rupee that we spend and that not a single rupee is spent more than it is absolutely necessary. So, I tell you what I will do. I do not want to bargain. I will give you only 50,000 more, but I want you to win all the seats. And, look, you must not lose in the constituency of Syed. He has thrown a challenge at the Muslim League and we must not lose in the constituency."

"Sir, we will do our best," I said.

"You go and sit in his constituency and run the election campaign of the whole province from there. I will send you a batch of 100 Aligarh students* who will work as volunteers under you. Explain to them where are the strongholds of Syed and let them personally approach the voters and explain to them that the very existence of the Indian Muslims is at stake in Sind elections ; that the Muslim League must win if the Muslims are to succeed in establishing Pakistan.

"Give all the help necessary to Akbar. Organise meetings, flood his constituency with our literature. See that he has adequate transport and petrol, workers and speakers. I will also ask most of our top leaders to visit Syed's constituency, and you arrange public meetings so that they can make an appeal to the voters to vote for our candidate."

"Sir, I shall try to my best," I answered, "and I will shift my headquarters to Kotri."

"Keep me fully informed about the day-to-day developments," he said.

"I will, Sir."

"But remember one thing," the Quaid-i-Azam said in a firm tone, "I don't want you to pay a single rupee to any voter as bribe to vote for us. That I will never approve. *I prefer defeat to winning election by adopting dishonest and corrupt methods*."

The echo of these words still lingers in my mind. The Quaid-i-

*The Editor recalls that under instructions from the Quaid-i-Azam he and his colleagues at Aligarh arranged to send 100 trained student workers to Sind.

Azam sent 100 volunteers. And the Aligarh boys did excellent work. Under the order of the Quaid-i-Azam came all the top-ranking leaders to Syed's constituency, including Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Pir Manki Sharif, Pir Zakori Sharif, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin.

Of course, the Muslim League won all the 35 Muslim seats and in addition also captured the Labour seat by defeating Mr. Narain Das Anandji Bechar, who was a very popular labour leader, and who had always been returned unopposed from the labour constituency for many years continuously.

The lesson our nation has to learn from this incident is that we must follow in the Quaid-i-Azam's footsteps by resisting all temptation to win elections by adopting unfair and corrupt practices. How many elections are won to-day without buying votes? How many are won without corrupting voters? How many of us are prepared to fight elections without resorting to unfair methods?

To us victory is all-important. To the Quaid-i-Azam success was as important as the means to achieve success. Even at a very crucial time he remained unflinchingly honest. His words should be a guide to us in our public life: "I prefer defeat to winning elections by adopting dishonest and corrupt methods."

Quaid Wanted to be Judged on Merits

BY

MIAN MOHAMMAD SHAFI

[Mian Mohammad Shafi of Lahore is a veteran journalist and a zealous worker of the Pakistan Movement. During the Unionist regime in the Punjab he suffered persecution and imprisonment for his faithful and strong advocacy of the cause of Pakistan. He has distinguished himself as a columnist and his comments are widely appreciated for his delightful style of expression and realistic appreciation of problems and issues.]

Ever since the inception of parliamentary politics in the sub-continent Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly. In the beginning he was the leader of the Independent Party. Later he founded the Muslim League Party. In view of his political and parliamentary engagements he purchased a beautiful house on Aurangzeb Road in New Delhi. His house on Malabar Hill in Bombay was unmatched for its grandeur. He would dominate social circles by virtue of his majestic personality. His big head, beautiful aquiline eyes, black and white hair, straight nose with its attractive tip, tall stature and his habits and bearing made him outstanding personality. Who could be a better man to throw parties than the one who possessed such a perfect personality free from physical and intellectual shortcoming? But it is a fact that Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah never gave a tea party at his house. He never gave a dinner party in honour of his followers at his house at Bombay or Delhi.

Let us hear the reason for this from the Quaid-i-Azam himself. In 1937 he came to Lahore in connection with the reorganisation of the Muslim League. Chaudhri Ali Mohammad Khadim, President of the Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood, wrote an article on the Quaid-i-Azam in *Ehsan* daily which was the only paper supporting the Muslim League at the time. Among other things Chaudhri Ali Mohammad wrote that Mr.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah did not invite anyone to social functions at his house. I read out this article to the Quaid-i-Azam. When I finished reading the article he asked: "How does the writer know that I do not invite people to my house ?" and then added, "But it is true." As I cast a questioning look at the Quaid-i-Azam, he said: "I do not like to approach people through their stomachs. I only want to be judged on my merits and actions. Tea and dinner parties are given to dissuade the people from looking at the shortcomings of their leaders but view them only from behind the screen of social charm. This puts difficulties in the way of work." The Quaid-i-Azam added: "Some people including my loyal colleagues complain of this attitude on my part. They do not say anything openly to my face but think in their heart of hearts that I am unsocial. Some even think that I am stingy and do not like to spend money on my friends and colleagues. But the truth is as I have told you, that the giving of parties is a kind of bribery in return for which people's support is obtained. I thoroughly detest it."

To achieve any object and to make it a success it is not enough that the object and the stand should be right; far more necessary it is that the upholders of the object should be endued with righteousness and sagacity. Their nerves should be stronger than steel and no one should be able to deceive or buy them. There are innumerable objects in the world which could not be achieved because their upholders were not capable of paying the price required to achieve them. The Quaid-i-Azam has to be recognised as the greatest and most successful man of the twentieth century in the sense that he set a goal for himself, and then attained it by sheer dint of his ideal character.

From 1937 to 1947 the reins of the Congress were in the hands of men who enjoyed international reputation. Some of them even claimed to possess supernatural qualities and merits. They were leaders of a people who were far ahead of the Muslims in point of wealth, knowledge, organisation and party strength. They had not hundreds but thousands of newspapers through which they could propagate their views in every nook and corner of the country. So far as sacrifice is concerned, the Hindus did not lag behind anyone. Their ranks included votaries of *Ahimsa* (non-violence) as well as terrorists like Bhagat Singh. In addition to this, the Congress, by way of a camouflage, had elected as its President a man whose past dating from 1911 to 1919 was popular with the Muslims. The Congress also had on its side the British Government which held the real power. The British Government proudly claimed that their imperialism had unified India into a geographical

unity. They had created a powerful Indian army to safeguard this 'geographical unity'. There were also the all-India services. They insisted that, though the provinces might be given the largest measure of autonomy, the political unity of India should not be broken. There was a time when Rashtrapati Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Lord Wavell, the Governor-General of India, spoke in the same strain. Both were proud of and insisted upon the 'geographical unity' of India. Then there were some among our own people who mistakenly believed that the Congress was striving for the freedom of India. Who does not remember the follies they committed and the malice they exhibited? If one could collect all the abuses, vituperations and insinuations of which the Quaid-i-Azam was the target in those days, it would constitute an enormous heap.

The Quaid-i-Azam, however, had been blessed by God with integrity, sagacity and righteous action along with nerves of steel. Even at the age of seventy God enabled him to stand like a rock against all forces of evil. He, therefore, defeated the combination of the Congress, the Mahasabha and the British Government and turned the course of the current. The revolution he sponsored was at last successful. When Pakistan had been established a strange physical change began to come over the Quaid-i-Azam. The man who, in spite of old age, had the courage and strength of youth suddenly grew old. His strong nerves began to relax and his lungs were riddled with tuberculosis. I think it was due only to one reason. As long as he was fighting his opponents to achieve his goal his will was invincible. It shattered mountains into pieces. When success came his way he had no wish to enjoy it. He handed over the precious legacy of Pakistan to others and soon joined his Maker.

[*Adapted from* Nawa-i-Waqt, 25 *December* 1965.]

Note.—It is true the Quaid-i-Azam did not give large parties but this should not be taken to mean that he was not hospitable. He often invited people to tea or meals individually or in small groups and some of his close friends were his house guests.—*Editor.*

The Historic League Session

BY

MIAN MOHAMMAD SHAFI

Twenty-six years back this day on 23 March 1940, when the All-India Muslim League met in the historic city of Lahore at its 34th Annual Session, the 200-years old struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent to regain their lost soul found concrete expression in the form of a unanimously adopted resolution known as "The Pakistan Resolution". This resolution which was moved by the Sher-i-Bengal, the redoubtable Maulvi Fazlul-Haq, summed up the political aspirations of the Muslims of the contiguous majority areas in the Indian sub-continent.

I was then a junior reporter of *The Civil and Military Gazette* and it was in that capacity that I assisted my chief, Mr. M. L. Bhardwaja (now Principal Information Officer to the Government of India), in covering the proceedings of the historic session. In the Minto Park (now christened Allama Iqbal Park) under the shadows of the lofty minarets of Aurangzeb's Mosque, all was set for the session. Hundreds of workers had worked day and night for months to set up a huge pandal providing seating accommodation for well over 50,000 people with all the paraphernalia of offices and enclosures to house the delegates and the national guards from all over India. (The venue of the session is now dominated by the massive Pakistan Memorial.)

Khaksar Massacre

Only four days before the commencement of the session, like a bolt from the blue, Lahore had the impact of a bloody drama in which scores of Khaksars, including their lion-hearted Salar, Agha Zaigham (chest measurement 48") were mercilessly butchered by the Punjab Police under the command of the Senior Superintendent of Police Mr. D. Gainsford, who had his nose chopped off in the bargain. The curfew and the enforcement of section 144 Cr. P. C. had temporarily converted the

gay city of Lahore into a political graveyard. There was open speculation in responsible circles as to the practicability of holding the session at all. The Reception Committee under the chairmanship of the late Nawab Sir Mohammad Shahnawaz Khan of Mamdot was at its wit's end. There was natural anxiety and desire in official circles to secure a postponement of the session. "Can the session in view of the existing circumstances be postponed to another suitable date ?" asked Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, in a long-range telephone conversation with the Quaid-i-Azam, who was in New Delhi.

"No" was the emphatic but expected reaction of the Quaid-i-Azam, who added, "But all arrangements for taking me out in a procession must be abandoned out of respect to the memory of the Khaksar martyrs." This had a magic effect and everybody was back on his feet trying to resume the thread of the preparations for holding of the session where it had been left on the fateful evening of 19 March 1940. The pandal once again began to hum with activity.

The Quaid-i-Azam quietly arrived by the Frontier Mail and, with his finger on the pulse of the people, motored straight from the railway station to the Mayo Hospital. He visited in a general ward each one of the wounded Khaksars and had a word of cheer for every one of them. This had a soothing effect on the lacerated hearts of the people of Lahore who girded their loins once again to make the Muslim League session a roaring success.

Galaxy of Leaders

The session had attracted a galaxy of Muslim leaders from all over India. There were the sturdy Pathans, intellectual Bengalis, nimble Biharis, sinuous Sindhis, burly Punjabis and aristocratic U.Pians. There was that rising star on the Muslim political horizon in the person of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang from Hyderabad (Deccan). He talked poetry whenever he opened his lips and evoked profound sentiments in the hearts of his audience. There was Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, a prince amongst men. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was in a class by himself. With his deep instinct to judge the situation aright, he had fully lined himself behind the Quaid-i-Azam. Khwaja Nazimuddin, always prayerful and, in the best traditions of a Muslim gentleman, was all dignity and grace. Of course, the towering personality of the Bengal Chief Minister, Maulvi Fazlul-Haq, with his reputation for a volatile temperament, was very much there. His speech while introducing the Pakistan Resolution, with its Momin like straightforwardness, caused a

furore in the Indian Press and abroad. From the N.-W.F. Province, there was Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, the handsomest of the men present there. Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan and Khan Saadullah Khan of Uttamanzai, with their typical Pathan dress, added picturesqueness to the gathering. Many of these stalwarts are no more to-day.

I distinctly remember that the first seat on the front row on the dais reserved for the members of the Reception Committee was occupied by the then young Malik Amir Mohammad Khan of Kalabagh. A hereditary Nawab commanding the unflinching devotion and loyalty of the Bangikhel Khatak Pathans, the young Amir Mohammad Khan had distinguished himself by making the highest donation (in four figures) to the Reception Committee Fund.

The Quaid-i-Azam, dressed in an immaculate white achkan and churidar pyjama, sat on an ornamental chair with the Muslim League National Guards, under the command of Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, standing behind him with drawn swords. His face was radiantly serene and he looked every inch a regal personality. Sat on his right, as always, the graceful Miss Fatima Jinnah with an air of rare triumph. The bespectacled Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan occupied a place loyally near his chief.

The Press gallery was packed to capacity with foreign and Indian journalists.

The session opened with a thrilling poem "Millat ka Pasban hai Mohammad Ali Jinnah" (author, Mian Bashir Ahmad), recited by M. Anwar Ghaziabadi, which sent the audience into rupturous ecstasies. The formalities over, the Quaid-i-Azam's regal figure rose from his chair and came to the mike. The audience accorded him a tempestuous reception with sky-rending slogans of 'Zindabad'. When the people settled down to a quieter mood he started speaking in Urdu. After a few brief moments he said, "I have a bigger audience to address this morning on momentous issues. The world is watching us, so let me have your permission to have my say in English."

Niagara of Oratory

With this started a Niagara of superb oratory, enlivened with wit and humour, punctuated with sarcasm and caustic remarks. By all accounts this was the best ever speech delivered from a political platform for a long time. He ridiculed, he jesticulated, he mocked. He summed up the political situation up to date. Every one of the factors in the political field was

cut to its proper size, analysed and exposed. Like a true democrat he gave an account of his stewardship of the All-India Muslim League before his real master—the people—and in return, got from them an implicit vote of confidence.

During his two-and-a-half hour speech, listened to with rapt attention, he only once referred to a written statement which he read in full for the benefit of the Press. His definition of the Muslim Nation was a piece of perfection even in the eyes of the most orthodox of the Muslim Ulema. In those few minutes that the Great Jinnah delved deep into Muslim Fiqh and history he seemed to be transformed into a symbol of the struggle of the milling masses of Islam, throughout the centuries (after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707) to find their ideology, history and culture a proper place in the Indian sun. The answer was the Muslim homelands in the contiguous majority areas to reclaims as many Muslims as possible from the alien yoke and influence.

To the everlasting glory of the Muslims of Bengal, it fell to the lot of their spokesman and leader, Maulvi Fazlul-Haq, to move the Pakistan Resolution which *inter alia* said :

> "Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country and acceptable to the Muslim unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which Muslims are in numerical majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

(At the Convention of the Muslim League members of all legislatures, Central and Provincial, held at Delhi in April 1946, the Lahore Resolution was clarified providing for 'a sovereign, independent state' consisting of Bengal, Assam, Punjab, N.-W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.)

[Pakistan Times, 23 *March* 1966.]

Quaid's First Visit to Badshahi Mosque

BY

MIAN MOHAMMAD SHAFI

When Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah visited the Badshahi Mosque during his first visit to Lahore as the nation's first Governor-General, he was unable to offer his Juma prayers.

The uncontrollable mob of *ziarat*-seekers made his entry to a place near the pulpit impossible. Security measures broke down in the vast emotional upsurge of an exuberant people.

The Quaid-i-Azam, the father of the nation, was visibly moved at his reception, and visibly angry at the *ziarat*-seekers, even snubbed them ; and returned to Government House.

The Quaid-i-Azam arrived at the Badshahi Mosque at 12·30 p.m. in the Government House blue Buick, flying the Governor-General's personal flag. As the car came to a halt by the imposing stairflight of the historic mosque, the waiting crowd began to mill round the car.

The Quaid-i-Azam was dressed in white shalwar and an immaculately creased grey achkan. Young men and some women, mostly incoming refugees, with wounds of their bodies and more so on their souls, saw the fatherly figure of the Quaid-i-Azam and broke forth in a lusty 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad'. The Quaid-i-Azam admonished them politely. Man was too mortal to be immortalised in 'Zindabad' in the shadow of the house of God. The lusty shouts, the awesome inspiring echoes of 'Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad' and 'Pakistan Zindabad' became louder and louder, regard less of the Quaid-i-Azam's personal sentiments. The spectacle of a hundred thousand men cheering the 'Father of the Nation' not far from where he first demanded Pakistan seven years back, in the portals of the world's largest mosque in the world's first Muslim State, stirred the souls of the people into a new frenzy.

Then in the flicker of an eyelash the frenzy crossed the bounds of local security, the lusty throaty mobs broke through

the cordon. Within seconds the Quaid-i-Azam was lost in the sea of the people.

The Quaid-i-Azam's beaming smile turned into an angry frown at this demonstration of indiscipline, and he gave a stern side-glance to Khan Qurban Ali Khan, the Provincial Inspector-General of Police. The I.-G. Police, dressed in civilian attire for the occasion of Juma prayers, at first thought that this cheering mob would settle down at the inspiration from the pulpit. He consequently deputed an attached assistant to request Maulana Ghulam Murshid, Khateeb of the Badshahi Mosque, to discipline the faithful.

Maulana Ghulam Murshid, a man experienced with the mob, mounted the small steps of the rostrum, and with silver mounted 'Aasa' (sceptre) in his right hand, proclaimed in his sharp sonorous tone the glory of God. The mob became silent for a few seconds.

Then suddenly, and with a passion hitherto not exhibited, the mob burst forth with a renewed frenzy of Zindabad slogans. The crowd's enthusiasm became so wild and they hemmed the Quaid so intensely that there seemed a real danger to his limbs and life.

The security officials, having lost their bearing and sense of perspective, debated amongst themselves some drastic solution. Inspector-General Qurban Ali Khan seized the occasion and his long years of experience came to his rescue.

The Quaid-i-Azam never for a moment lost his nerve and presence of mind and asked the Inspector-General of Police to get the Khateeb announce the formation of lines preparatory to offering prayers The 'Muezzin's' voice then suddenly rang out 'Qad Qama Tissalat' through the loud-speakers. By instinct born of over 1,300 years of response to this, lines began to be formed and a hundred thousand pairs of feet began to rustle. Complete hush descended on the mosque.

Inspector-General Qurban Ali Khan personally conducted the Quaid-i-Azam in the fraction of the minute which the 'Muezzin's' call gave him to the side-entrance from where he motored to the Government House.

[Pakistan Times, 25 *December*, 1965.]

Some Reminiscences

BY

Z. A. SULERI

[Mr. Z. A. Suleri is a well-known journalist of long standing. He worked on the staff of *Dawn* in Delhi and was in charge of Muslim Information Centre, London, set up in 1946 under the direction of the Quaid-i-Azam. Mr. Suleri was Editor of *Evening Times*, *Times of Karachi* and *Pakistan Times*. During the Indo-Pakistan War he was Director of Inter-Services Public Relations Directorate. Now he writes a regular column for premier English and Urdu newspapers. He is author of many books on Pakistan, including *My Leader*, *The Road to Peace and Pakistan*, *Whither Pakistan* and his latest *Politicians and Ayub*.]

What I felt very keenly whenever I had the opportunity of meeting the Quaid-i-Azam was that, although he had a cool exterior and he was invariably arguing and marshalling facts, never hesitating to stretch his hand for a reference to substantiate one point or the other, there was a fire that was burning within him. Not for a minute was he ever in doubt about his goal. If there was one subject about which he was never tired of talking it was Pakistan. Moreover, he was prepared to discuss it with anyone for hours on end. Whatever others might think about the logic of Pakistan all agreed that the man meant it. I have never seen him more distressed than when the Hindus and others said that Pakistan was a counter for bargaining. Politicians know the art of compromise—it's all in the day's work—and the Quaid was a superb politician and planned his strategy with great care, yet from the time he took up the advocacy of Pakistan he began to preach about the limitation of compromise. The book he most often recommended to stuednts was Lord Morley's essay *On Compromise*. The book, he said, was useful to teach how far one should be prepared to compromise and no further.

The most important characteristic of the Quaid's life was his deep allegiance to constitutionalism. Not infrequently was he styled a dictator. No doubt his influence with the people and his colleagues was unique. Yet the Muslim League's record will show that there is not a single instance where he acted arbitrarily. I remember in 1943 when the Council of the Muslim League passed a resolution banning membership of the Khaksar movement for the Leaguers *The Statesman* wrote a leader attacking the Quaid for dictatorial tactics. I remonstrated with the Editor in a sharp letter pointing out that none of the Quaid's decisions was unsupported by the Council, and if the Council carried his suggestions the worst that could be said was that the Council was easily led, not that the Quaid was a dictator. The following morning I met the Quaid-i-Azam and he expressed satisfaction with my letter.

Arbitrariness did not suit his temper. He believed in putting his whole case before anyone who cared to hear and, of course, stuck fast to his arguments, but conceding that others could legitimately hold an alternative view. He was not of the stuff of which dictators are made. He was genuinely, widely and gratefully loved by his people and therein lay the source of his power. He had earned such a degree of respect for himself that people were prepared to suspend their own judgment in favour of his. His care for public opinion is borne out by his correspondence with Gandhi in 1944. It was on his suggestion that the letters were exchanged. He had too deep a regard for public confidence to discuss matters of vital national importance in a purely personal capacity. Everything was put on record which was open for anyone to examine. He simply would not do things over the head of his people. None could arrive at a secret understanding with him.

Another important trait of his character was that he was utterly without cant and snobbery. While he had great respect for public opinion he never played to the gallery. I remember when, after the resuscitation of the Muslim League in 1937, a great reception was prepared for him on his visit to Simla, a procession was got ready to take him through the Lower Bazar. The railway station was packed with people and when the train arrived and the Quaid alighted, the atmosphere was rent with shouts of 'Allah-o-Akbar'. "But look," said someone with a sigh beside me, "why hasn't he worn Muslim clothes?" Some others suggested that at least he should have put away his white sola hat. When he had been escorted to the rickshaw an euthusiast volunteered to go up to him and make the suggestion. I saw him approach the rickshaw, have a word but turn back

immediately. Jinnah was perhaps the only statesman who meant to be painted as he was when he said so. He never struck a pose for special effect.

I left for London at the end of the war, in 1945, to organise publicity and propaganda for the Pakistan case as well as to write from there for Muslim papers. In December 1946 the Quaid-i-Azam came to London for a final discussion with the British Cabinet. The London Muslims League made great preparations to receive him at Heathrow Airport. I think it was the first occasion when the Muslim in London far outnumbered the Hindus on a public occasion The Muslims had come from all over England, as far as Glasgow and Edinburgh and had spent the night at the airport. A limited number of tickets were issued, but as it happened we managed to be at the proper spot and were about four to five hundred strong. It was a very dramatic scene. On one side the Hindus arrayed themselves, shouting slogans to welcome Nehru and Baldev Singh and on the other the Muslims were hoarse with Allah-o-Akbar and Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad. It was a tense moment when the plane arrived and the atmosphere echoed our 'naras'. All agreed that the Muslim Leaguers carried the day, for after some time the Congressites gave up the ghost and left the field entirely to the Muslims. The Quaid-i-Azam alighted from the plane, tired but faultlessly dressed. One of the Muslim Leaguers said, "Sir, we have not slept for the whole night." "Neither have I," joked the Quaid-i-Azam who had just finished a non-stop twenty-four hour journey from Karachi. The B.B.C. people had a mike there and they wanted him to say something on it. The Quaid-i-Azam laughed and said, "Londoners, I have brought sunshine for you." It was really an unusual thing for London to have a bright sun on a December morning.

The Quaid-i-Azam drove to the Claridges and was installed in the suite of rooms which were occupied by the King of Greece during the war. At 9·15 a.m. I went into his room and found he was already at work. As usual he was opening his letters and writing a word or two of comment on them. That a frail old man like him should have plunged himself into work immediately on arrival after a tiring air journey struck me as an awe-inspiring phenomenon. He asked me a few questions and I stayed with him for a short while. All the rest of the day he spent in discussions with the British Cabinet. The only relaxation that he allowed himself was some time a stroll in the Oxford Street and a visit to John Buchman's play 'The Forgotten Factor'.

On 14 December we had a public meeting at Kingsway

Hall. I had the honour of introducing him to the public. That evening was the climax of Muslim League activities in England. Never had we attracted such attention and those who attended the meeting will cherish the memory for ever. The Quaid spoke for over an hour, lucidly and clearly putting his case, and many of my English friends later remarked to me, "What a remarkably cool man he is for a revolutionary!" There was an incident at the meeting. A Hindu tried to heckle him. The Quaid stopped for a moment and then resumed his speech. There was more shouting. He stopped again and began to speak after a minute. Interruptions and heckling did not worry him a bit. Later on the Quaid asked me if that gentleman was satisfied with the reply. His only interest was in making his point clear and meeting objections as logically as possible.

An interesting feature of his stay was a Press Conference which he addressed at the end of the talks at the Claridges. Over a hundred world press correspondents sat around a long table. First of all the Quaid gave a quiet summary of the case for Pakistan and then invited questions. Hindu propaganda abroad plus the ignorance of foreign correspondents about our Movement produced a volley of hostile questions. The Quaid answered them calmly, always producing facts and figures to substantiate his replies. In the end a Swiss correspondent sharply asked the Quaid, "Weren't you in the Congress formerly?" "I was in a primary school formerly," was the clinchin gretort. I met that Swiss correspondent often afterwards. He never forgot the reply he had received.

On a Friday the Quaid-i-Azam wanted to go for Juma prayers. I suggested going to a mosque in the East End where the Muslims gathered from all over London. In the car sat Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan beside the Quaid-i-Azam. I was trying to sit on a small seat in front of him but could not manage to unfold it. The Quaid-i-Azam bent forward and pulled the strap and produced the seat. He inquired about the mosque in the East End and I said, "Sir, this is a mosque where men in the street gather." "Yes," he replied, "it is the men in the street who are the source of my strength. If I were to depend entirely on the top men I would be nowhere. It is only when I look to them and their unfailing euthusiasm that I feel strong." I think few know how deeply the Quaid-i-Azam cared and thought about ordinary Muslims from his apparently isolated existence. When we reached the mosque the Khutba had begun and so the Quaid-i-Azam sat in the last row and listened to the Imam. I stood by him for the prayer and felt that he was taking extraordinary care to keep his cap on when going down in *Sijdah*. After the

prayers everyone gathered round him and he shook hands with each one of them. Someone volunteered to lace his shoes but he would not let anyone do it. The one thing which he hated most was personal sycophancy.

I have contented myself with the chronicling of a few incidents of his life to which I was a witness, for while the Quaid's political life is so well known, very little is known about his personal mood and attitude. It was because of his undemonstrative nature that he kept his private life strictly private. Unlike other celebrities he did not interject his own life as a man into the public show. This isolation has earned him various epithets which do him little justice. I found him a truly affectionate man who was accessible to all and a constitutional democrat who was never tired of explaining his point of view. He spurned ostentation and had no taste for stage-acting either to win popular applause or to create a special impression on those whom he addressed. He did not take up the idea of Pakistan all of sudden, sentimentally. He took up the cause after a long deliberation on the future of the Muslims in India. But once he came to the conclusion that partition alone would solve the problem, he was for it wholly and solely. People showed a great lack of understanding of him when they thought that Pakistan was his hobby horse and that he would get down from it the moment something tempting was offered, like the premiership of India. In fighting for Pakistan he did not seek any personal glory. His concern was for his people and he knew his decisions were going to affect the fate and fortunes of the Muslims for centuries to come.

Today, when Pakistan is a *fait accompli*, not much thought is given to the battle which preceded its creation. When I consider the might and strength of the British and that of the Hindus, politically, financially and organisationally and their worldwide influence, I cannot help thinking that the man was almost a superman in dealing with them. Was it easy to out-argue the Hindus? Was it easy to out-manoeuvre the British? Was it easy to out-flank the Mulla? He was able to do it all only because there was an urge within which could not be suppressed, which was sustained by his indomitable will and a sterling character. He had gone beyond the worldly temptations and looked only to the spiritual reality of honour and dignity on which nations live and survive in this world of conflicts. We attach much value to knowledge but I believe it is comparatively easy to acquire knowledge. What is infinitely more difficult to have is the courage of one's convictions. Many know what is right, but how many stand up to express it? We justify our

lack of character and courage by styling ourselves clever. The Quaid-i-Azam, above all, had a character which involved the whole man. He had the courage to go into the battle against the might of the Hindus and the British. Mountbatten, on the inaugural ceremony of Pakistan, asked us to emulate the tolerance of Akbar. The Quaid said: "It dates back thirteen hundred years ago when our Prophet, not only by words but deeds, treated the Jews and the Christians, after he had conquered them, with the utmost tolerance and regard and respect for their faith and beliefs." Who else had the courage to say it? The Quaid-i-Azam had that rare quality amongst us which is known as an emancipated mind and an independent outlook.

Today we have an independent flag, an independent country, but how many among the intellectual class are free from mental slavery either to the West or to the East. The Quaid-i-Azam represented that great trait of a true Muslim which permitted him to bow to none but Allah. His achievement in creating Pakistan is unique throughout the history of mankind. With what little equipment did he fight the battle of Pakistan against the economic, political and educational superiority of his adversaries! He would have been a great man by virtue of waging the struggle, he has become immortal by having won it. So long as Pakistan lives, and I have faith it will live for ever, for it has undertaken to put forth a pattern of life which belongs to the future of humanity, the Quaid's image will remain bright and ascendant. Whatever achievements fall to our credit, a due proportion of it will be accredited as a homage and as a tribute to the memory of the man who created Pakistan.

Quaid-i-Azam & Maulana Shaukat Ali

BY

RAIS AHMAD JAFRI

[Mr. Rais Ahmad Jafri is a distinguished product of Nadvatul-Ulama of Lucknow. He was closely associated with Ali Brothers, the Khilafat Movement and was Editor of the newspaper *Khilafat Daily* of Bombay. He is a *litterateur*, author of a large number of books in Urdu, and a research Fellow in the Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore.]

I had the opportunity of living with Maulana Shaukat Ali for several years. I was Editor of the *Khilafat Daily*, Manager of Khilafat Press and Maulana's personal aide. I always had access to him and he could always send for me. He lived in the Khilafat House and so we were in constant touch with each other. I saw the Maulana at very close quarters and the closer I got the deeper was the impress of his greatness on my mind. I have seen many leaders. I have lived with them. I have seen them alone and in company, in anger and in tranquillity, in poverty and in affluence. But none impressed we so much as Shaukat Sahib. He was a very good and great man, and this quality overshadowed his other attributes. That he was a good and great man is proved by the fact that he was capable of sacrificing personal and party prestige for the good of the nation. I did not see this quality in anyone else.

Maulana Shaukat Ali belonged to a school of thought which was opposed to the political stand of Mr. Jinnah. The Maulana was a great leader of Khilafat—the great revoluntionary movement of India. He made Mr. Gandhi Mahatama Gandhi. He provided finances for the Congress out of the Khilafat Fund. He faced British imperialism and tyranny. He practised civil disobedience and launched the movement for non-co-operation and renunciation of titles. He was arrested on the charge of sedition and challenged the Sessions Judge in the Court in a manner which left the audience dumb-founded. His movement, though revolu-

tionary, also had a constructive aspect. It founded the Jamia Millia Islamia and provided it with financial assistance for years. The Khilafat Movement aroused a high degree of religious fervour and political consciousness among the Muslims. Bombay became a venue of national gatherings because of the Khilafat Movement and thus Urdu won a place for itself in the province. A large number of Urdu schools were opened and innumerable Urdu newspapers and magazines also came out. Shaukat Sahib thus rendered a service to Urdu which can never be forgotten.

During this period Mr. Jinnah followed a different course but his opposition was one of principle. It could be ended by compromise but neither Shaukat Sahib nor Mr. Jinnah was prepared to compromise on principles. About fifteen years passed. Living in the same city they never called on each other. Nevertheless, the world one day was wonder-struck to see Shaukat Sahib holding aloft banner of the Mr. Jinnah's leadership. He was heard calling all his friends, comrades, followers, admirers and Muslims in general to give allegiance to Jinnah's leadership. It was a unique example of selflessness and self-sacrifice on the part of Shaukat Sahib of which a parallel might be found in books but was never seen by me.

What with his personality and other qualities Shaukat Sahib was a born leader. As long as he was in Aligarh his leadership was unchallenged. Passing out of Aligarh, he became Opium Commissioner. This post had till then been reserved for Europeans. Even from outside he ruled over his realm—Aligarh. He founded the Old Boys Association, built the Old Boys Lodge, welded the Aligarh Old Boys into a brotherhood, issued the magazine *Old Boy* to bring the Old Boys together and deepen their attachment to their Alma Mater. He took long furlough from service to work for raising the Aligarh College to the status of a University. He accompanied the Agha Khan as his Secretary on a countrywide tour, knocked at every door, put his hand in every pocket and collected lacs of rupees. In his *Memoirs* the Agha Khan generously gives the credit for the collection of funds to Shaukat Ali. Thereafter he devoted his energies to the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba. He worked as a volunteer of the Anjuman but soon became its most prominent leader. Shaukat Sahib did not hanker after leadership but leadership fitted h im.

The Khilafat Movement followed the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba. Here again Shaukat Sahib appears as its leading light. When this movement lost its momentum, he continued to be a

prominent leader. He opposed the Congress on the question of Nehru Report and finally saw it drowned in the Ravi at Lahore. He maintained the individuality of the Muslims in Bombay which was the citadel of the Congress and a storm centre of Hindu-Muslim riots. He kept the Muslims away from the movements launched by the Congress from 1930 to 1934. Till his last breath he lived a full life. He never laid down arms before anyone. It was perhaps in 1932 that Mr. Gandhi came to Delhi. Shaukat Sahib too was in Delhi. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting in Company Bagh and mournfully said that it was most painful for him that though Shaukat Sahib was in Delhi he was not with him and his eyes looked for him. In 1934 Shaukat Sahib was going to Bhopal by the Punjab Mail. Mr. Gandhi too was travelling by this train. At one station he suddenly entered Shaukat Sahib's compartment and said to him, "You always used to keep me in your pocket and I was proud of it. Why have you thrown me out of your pocket?" Shaukat Sahib replied, "You have yourself run out of my pocket."

What I mean to point out is that, even though the Khilafat Movement had come to an end, Shaukat Sahib's leadership was alive, and Mr. Gandhi was still keen to have his co-operation and support. The Muslims had discarded the Khilafat movement but they had not forsaken Shaukat Sahib. The proof of his continued popularity is to be seen in his election to the Central Legislative Assembly from a constituency in U.P., even though he had practically settled down in Bombay. He sought election from Rohilkhand constituency, but the rival candidate, Sir Mohammad Yakub, with his influence in official circles managed to have his nomination papers rejected. Shaukat Sahib then filed his nomination from the Seven Cities constituency. He was opposed by Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan who had official backing and the support of influential reactionary elements. Shaukat Sahib inflicted a crushing defeat on Sir Shafa'at.

On entering the Assembly, Maulana Shaukat Ali realised that, in the face of Hindu machinations, Muslim frustrations and the apathy of Muslim members, Jinnah alone was an intrepid leader who would steer the ship of the Muslims to a safe anchorage. He, therefore, unhesitatingly accepted Jinnah as his leader and publicly announced it.

I distinctly remember that the Khilafatists were not pleased with this decision. The era of the Khilafat Movement was over but the Khilafat Committee was still there. It had a President, a Working Committee and a Secretary-General (Maulana Shaukat Ali). It used to hold its sessions annually in some city. It had regular members, volunteer corps, a wide circle of subscribers,

and a newspaper and a press of its own. The moving spirit of this organisation, Maulana Shaukat Ali, was now telling his comrades to offer allegiance to Jinnah. The Khilafat workers and volunteers would come and express their displeasure to Shaukat Sahib. He mollified them and brought them round to his view-point.

A deputation of the Khilafat workers once came to meet Shaukat Sahib and one of its members made a passionate declamation as follows: "When we were going to jail, facing bullets and lathi charge, boycotting British goods and law courts, losing our properties and belongings, Jinnah was not with us. Now you tell us to accept him as our leader." Saying this he began to cry. In his characteristic style Shaukat Sahib replied: "Listen, we did not forgive Jinnah who opposed us. We made him retire from the political platform. He did not side with us, but he was not against the Muslims. It was only a difference regarding course of action. He did not get any post or title, although many others obtained these things. Jinnah, as we see him now, is fighting the British and the Hindus for the cause of the Muslims. Should we strengthen the hands of the British and the Hindus by leaving Jinnah alone? We are not dissolving our organisation. It will continue to do its work. I strongly feel that there is need for a common political platform and this can only be the platform of the Muslim League considering the present conditions. If I feel for the nation I should not care so much for myself as for the nation, and that is why I am supporting the League. If you have any regard for me as your leader you have to bow before my leader, otherwise my path is different from yours. I have to appear before God. I do not want that when I stand before Him I should be accused of having prevented the Muslims from uniting. I don't care for myself or my own leadership." The atmosphere changed. Those who sought to set up Shaukat Sahib as a rival leader rose after declaring allegiance to Mr. Jinnah.

The Quaid-i-Azam realised the character, sacrifice and selflessness displayed by Shaukat Sahib. He knew Shaukat Sahib's popularity and influence. It was Shaukat Sahib who brought in Nawab Ismail Khan, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Abdul Majid Sindhi, Syed Murtaza Bahadur into the Muslim League and they were embraced by the Quaid-i-Azam. He had greater confidence in Shaukat Sahib than any other leader. He would entrust the most important tasks to Shaukat Sahib. The by-election in Jhansi in 1937 was regarded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as a test case. To win this election he had set in motion the entire machinery of the Congress. He command-

eered the services of renowned Ulema like Maulana Husain Ahmad and Maulana Ahmad Said. If the League had lost this election it would have been a fatal blow. The Quaid-i-Azam assigned this difficult task to Shaukat Sahib. It was the hot weather with scorching winds. The League had no funds and hardly any workers. The old but doughty fighter Shaukat with a few co-workers jumped into the fray. He travelled day and night by train, car, bullock-cart, tonga, although he suffered from diabetes and other ailments. He went to every nook and corner of the constituency and the result was a resounding victory for the League candidate and crushing defeat of his Congressite rival. Maulana Shaukat Ali repeated this magnificent performance for the Muslim League in three other by-elections in Moradabad, Saharanpur, and Bulandshahr Districts.

The Quaid i-Azam had only one child, a daughter, who was naturally the object of his love and affection. After her mother's death she was brought up by her maternal grandmother. This was a family of Parsees. The girl's marriage was secretly arranged with a wealthy Parsee millowner. The Quaid-i-Azam learnt of it at the last moment. Naturally he was much perturbed. He sent for Shaukat Sahib and, with tears in his eyes, requested him to arrange for a well-educated Muslim tutor who could instruct the girl in Islamic tenets and teachings. The Quaid-i Azam said he was prepared to spend any amount of money for this purpose. Shaukat Sahib promised to do the needful. But before he could find a suitable tutor, the girl, disregarding her father's wishes and prestige, entered into civil marriage with the Parsee millowner. It was an incident which saddened both the leaders and made them weep. It, however, shows that the Quaid-i-Azam had such faith and confidence in Shaukat Sahib that he consulted him and sought his help in a strictly private matter.

Once Shaukat Sahib fell ill. It was not a serious illness. He was suffering from cold and fever. On hearing of it the Quaid-i-Azam went to Khilafat House and sat with Shaukat Sahib for about an hour, although usually it was not his practice to call on others. When Shaukat Sahib died in Delhi in November 1938 the Quaid-i Azam could not control his tears. He not only joined the funeral procession but stood on the steps of the Jamia Masjid for two hours and participated in the last funeral rites for Maulana Shaukat Ali. A few weeks later in the course of his presidential address at the Patna session of the All-India Muslim League the Quaid-i-Azam paid a glowing tribute to his dear friend and sincere colleague in the following words: "Maulana Shaukat Ali was a great man, a man who was always ready and willing to make any and every sacrifice for the cause

in which he believed. He was a colleague and personal friend of mine. He never swerved by an hair's breadth from the path he had chosen and served the cause of the Muslim League with unflagging zeal to the very last. It is not only a personal loss but, I am sure, also a national Muslim loss which is mourned all over India."

Among the lady members of the Muslim League there were many good workers and speakers. But the Quaid-i-Azam nominated Shaukat Sahib's sister-in-law, Begum Mohammad Ali, as a member of the Working Committee though she was a *burqa*-clad lady. She remained a member as long as she lived. The Quaid-i-Azam held her in high esteem.

The Muslim League had made it a rule that none of its members could be a member of any other party but an exception was made in the case of the Khilafat Committee. Someone asked the Quaid-i-Azam as to why the rule did not apply to the Khilafat Committee. "Because" said the Quaid-i-Azam, "it is the Muslim League."

Maulana Irfan was the Finance Secretary of the Khilafat Committee. He stood for election to the Bombay Legislative Assembly as an independent candidate but was defeated. He was a member of the Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League. No one could save him from disciplinary action by the Muslim League. Maulana Shaukat Ali too was silent but the Quaid-i-Azam did not want disciplinary action to be taken against a colleague of Shaukat Sahib. He precluded any disciplinary action by stating (and it was true) that Maulana Irfan had realised his error. This incident alone shows the high esteem and regard in which the Quaid-i-Azam held Maulana Shaukat Ali.

Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General

BY

S. M. YUSUF

[Mr. S.M. Yusuf is a senior member of the Civil Service of Pakistan. He was Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General. He has since held serveral important and responsible posts and was Secretary to the President of Pakistan. He is now Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Government of Pakistan.]

The privilege of working with one of the greatest figures of the present century came my way unsolicited and unexpectedly. The Prime Minister, having failed to find a suitable Private Secretary for the Quaid-i-Azam, decided to hand over his own Private Secretary to the Governor-General. This is how I found my way to the Governor-General's House.

I must confess that I received the news of my appointment as Private Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam with mixed feelings. I had no personal contact with him and from all accounts he was a hard task master and a difficult person to deal with. It is therefore, understandable that my feeling of elation at being singled out for this honour was tempered with a bit of trepidation and nervousness as to whether I would be able to satisfy my new master. My first encounter with the Quaid-i-Azam was very brief. He was all kindness and expressed the hope that we would get along well.

In the earlier days most of the cases which came to the Governor-General pertained either to the Central or Provincial legislation. New laws or amendments of existing laws had to be rushed through to meet the new situations with which the Dominion was confronted. To start with the Ministry of Law was greatly handicapped by the lack of a trained draftsman.

The drafting of some of the bills and ordinances left a lot to be desired. That the Quaid-i-Azam agreed with the substance of the proposed legislation and approved of it in principle, was not



The Quaid broadcasting from the All India Radio on 3rd June, 1947.

enough. He must scan every line and satisfy himself that the drafting was in order. No detail was minute enough for him and any clumsy or obscure construction would not escape his notice. It was while presenting these cases that I discovered what a penetrating mind the Quaid-i-Azam had. He would draw attention to certain aspects of the case which had never struck me or the Ministry submitting the case.

He had a wholesome aversion to signing a document the full implications of which were not known to him. The first question he would ask me whenever I put a document to him for signature was why it was necessary for him to sign it. Chapter and verse had to be quoted before he would append his signature to anything. The menticulousness on the part of the Quaid-i-Azam sometimes caused embarrassment to our Ministries which were carrying on without reference books or previous papers which had been left behind at Delhi, but at the same time it kept them on their toes and discouraged them from submitting half-baked proposals. In the presence of the Quaid-i-Azam one could not get away with vague statements or arguments based on imperfect data or knowledge.

The following incident would illustrate his passion for detail and correctness of form. Governors and Ministers have to take the oath of office at the time of their appointment; the terms of various oaths are appended to the *Commission of Appointment of a Governor*. At the time of Sir Ambrose Dundas' appointment as Governor of N.-W.F.P. I submitted the Cabinet Secretariat's draft of the Commission of Appointment for the Quaid-i-Azam's signature. The oath for the Governor attached to the Commission of Appointment was the same as was administered to the Governors at the time of establishment of Pakistan.

I thought the case was simple and straight forward and I would obtain the Quaid-i-Azam's signature in no time. I was, however, counting without my master. "Who prescribed this oath"? was the first question. I had to ring back the Cabinet Secretariat. All that they could say was that it was decided upon just before Partition in consultation with the Quaid-i-Azam. There was nothing on record to substantiate it. "Why was Governor's oath different from the Governor General's oath?" was the next question. "What was good enough for Governor General should do for the Governors." "Why should the Ministers take the oath of secrecy and not the Governors?" I had to go to the late Shaikh Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah to verify whether he, at the time of his appointment as Governor of Sind, took only the oath of loyalty of the Constitution or that of secrecy as well.

The etiquette to be observed by guests invited to the Governor-General's House and the way they were to be presented had to conform to the Quaid-i-Azam's instructions. Could the guests line up for any distinguished persons staying at the Governor-General's House? The Quaid-i-Azam had something to say on that. He would not blindly follow the accepted rule of etiquette on ceremonial occasions. One had only to shrug one's shoulders and say with Henry the Fifth, "O Kate! Nice Customs, court'sy to great Kings."

He disliked nothing more than being hustled. It sometimes happened that a Provincial Government approached the Quaid-i-Azam at the last moment for giving his assent to some provincial legislation which was to replace an expiring law. "Why didn't they think of the matter earlier?" the Quaid-i-Azam would ask. Any attempt on my part to persuade the Quaid-i-Azam to relent on the ground that the lapsing of the old law without its being replaced by a new one might not be convenient from the administrative point of view and might lead to complications was doomed to failure. "I want the Administration to be alert and they should not expect me to come to their rescue if they delay matters without adequate cause." No further argument could be possible after this.

A Provincial Government once wanted the Quaid-i-Azam's assent to the promulgation of an Ordinance a few days before its Legislature was due to meet. Assent was refused, for bypassing the Legislature was not to be countenanced.

I have yet to see a more awe-inspiring personality. There was something in the steady gaze of his steel-grey monocled eye which unnerved even the greatest. I have seen Ambassadors trembling before him. A senior diplomat of a big country came to present his credentials to the Governor-General. He started reading his speech from a piece of paper in a steady voice but before he was half way through his voice became husky, his hands started shaking. He pressed the speech paper hard against his side and with great effort managed to finish his speech without actually collapsing on the floor.

One of our own elder statesmen who is now Pakistan's Ambassadar abroad confessed to me that he used to forget his English in the Quaid-i-Azam's presence. The following incident was narrated to me by him.

Soon after the Cabinet Mission's Plan of 1946 was announced he asked for an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam to acquaint him with his reactions. "Have you studied the Plan?" asked the Quaid-i-Azam after an exchange of greetings.

"Yes, Sir."

"What is a major communal issue?"

Our friend stuttered the dictionary meaning of the words "communal" and "major". The interview was over. He was advised to go and study the Plan afresh.

A report which enjoyed wide credence was that the Quaid-i-Azam was impatient of other people's point of view and was not prone to listen to anybody's advice. Nothing could be farther from truth. In this connection a small incident comes to my mind. A foreign correspondent sought an interview with the Quaid-i-Azam. Among other things they discussed the Kashmir question. It is common knowledge that Quaid-i-Azam held very strong views on the subject and he expressed them in equally strong terms. The dispute had not yet been referred to the Security Council and our Prime Minister was to meet Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru two or three days after that interview to discuss this vexed question. I hinted to the Quaid-i-Azam that his making that statement at that stage would not help the negotiations that were going to take place between the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions. The Quaid-i-Azam immediately deleted the part of the statement dealing with Kashmir. He was always open to conviction and took pains to understand others' point of view.

Himself extremely hard-working he demanded hard work of people who came into contact with him. The call of duty came first with him and the highest tribute he paid to Mr. Gandhi in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan was that Mr. Gandhi answered the call of duty and laid his life in the discharge of what he considered to be his duty. Sickness and failing health did not deter the Quaid-i-Azam from attending to his duty. He went on working to the very last and continued to deal with important State papers until his death.

Whenever in poor health he showed signs of impatience, but every such demonstration was followed by profuse apologies. In his dealings with me he was invariably kind, polite and courteous. Reserved by temperament he would occasionally, particularly at meal times, indulge in reminiscences which gave one glimpese into his past as also the working of his mind. As Governor-General he avoided contacts with the masses and had few interviewers, but he had his fingers at the public pulse all the time. By his unerring judgment he could gauge public reactions to the most vital decisions that he had had to take. He understood only too well the mass psychology. He often used to say that it did not help to be concise in one's approach to the common man. The

point to be driven home could always bear repetition.

By his death the nation has lost a truly great man and it will not be possible to fill the void created by his passing away.

[*From Dawn*, 11 *September* 1949.]

The Last Days of Quaid-i-Azam

BY

FARRUKH AMIN

[Mr. Farrukh Amin was Deputy Private Secretary to the Quaid-i-Azam as Governor-General. He was with the Quaid-i-Azam during his last days at Quetta and Ziarat and thus gives an intimate picture revealing some human traits of his personality. Mr. Amin is now Deputy Secretary of the Planning Commission.]

This day, a year ago, the Quaid-i-Azam departed from us. The loss was too deep for tears; and the hearts of the people of Pakistan wept more bitterly than their eyes. For, he it was who gave us our homeland and the right to a name amongst the nations of the world. He was not only the Creator of Pakistan and of an era of independence and self-realisation for us, but he was like a father to all Pakistanis and was loved, respected and looked up to as such.

The news of his death this day, a year ago, therefore, was to everyone a grievous and indelible shock. There was not a heart which did not go up in solemn prayer for the peace of his soul as we moved in that sad and memorable procession of his funeral.

Many were the fond and eager inquiries made of me after that sad day. "Tell us something about the Quaid-i-Azam, you were so close to him. Tell us how the cruel hand of death took him away from us. Tell us of the vital days at Quetta and Ziarat when he was seen by so few."

Time no doubt is a great healer, but even now it is no easy task to talk of the last days of the Quaid-i-Azam without feeling his loss again with the same poignancy and pangs of uncontrollable grief, to me—as to so many others who had the privilege of being close to him—the Quaid-i-Azam can never be dead. His graceful figure rises before the mind's eye—now with its polite, dignified smile, now with its awe-inspiring look—at the mere mention of his name.

The Quaid-i-Azam had extraordinary will-power and tremendous confidence in himself, which both his friends and foes have paid tribute to. He held his own always, where weaker men gave way. There was, therefore, something tragic in the way he, the hero of many battles and victor of all, obeyed the summons of the Almighty. Not even we who had anxiously watched his fight against failing health from day to day could believe that he lived no more, for had we not seen him so many times overcome the repeated illness by sheer will-power!

How my good fortune brought me close to the Quaid-i-Azam was a surprise to me and I remember the details vividly. It was in New Delhi on the 23rd of July 1947, four days after the formation of the Provisional Government of Pakistan, when unexpectedly I received word that I should see Mr. Mohammad Ali, Secretary-General to the new Government at 10 a.m. I went to him and he selected me for appointment on the personal staff of the Quaid-i-Azam and asked me to go and report to the Great Man.

This sudden development in my very placid life made me both happy and nervous. An opportunity to serve the Quaid-i-Azam, the maker of our nation and the founder of our State, and to be near him, was the greatest privilege that could be imagined for a Pakistani and I felt happy. But I felt nervous too.

So far I had seen and admired the Quaid-i-Azam from a distance on the public platform and the Assembly floor, but being so near to such a great man was different. It was, therefore, with no easy steps that I made my way to 10 Aurangzeb Road, where I sent in my name. Mr. Mohammad Ali had telephoned about me, and I was immediately admitted. I walked into the study and then, suddenly, I was in his presence. This was the greatest moment of my life.

The Quaid-i-Azam was seated in a sofa smoking a cigar and beckoned me to sit down. My excitement and nervousness still had the better of me, as all the time I wondered what he would expect of me and my work. Soon, however, the Quaid-i-Azam, in his inimitable way, put me at my ease. He asked me questions about myself, my career, my plans for moving to Karachi. Then in a tone which removed the last vestiges of my nervousness he asked me pointing to a heap of telegrams and messages he had received from all corners of the earth on his appointment as the Governor-General of Pakistan whether I would "kindly" start with them and sort them out.

Two weeks later we arrived in Karachi and immediately plunged into a vortex of official functions. On the 14th of August

when the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met for the first time the Quaid-i-Azam asked me to accompany him to the Assembly Chamber. This was his first official function. The roads were lined with members of the Armed Forces and the public and a sea of faces was to be seen on all sides. The full-throated shouts of "Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad" and "Pakistan Zindabad" made my heart swell and brought tears of happiness into my eyes.

The Quaid-i-Azam also was visibly moved and remarked pointing to the people what wonderful human material we had and how, if their enthusiasm was directed into the proper channels, Pakistan would become one of the leading States of the world. As we passed the Y.M.C.A. Building on Strachen Road he described the institution as an example of organisation and how a handful of people had set up branches in all quarters of the world. He went on to mention the Parsi community—a small fraction of the population of India but rich and honoured because of their industry and organisation. "If olny we can organise the Muslim people," the Quaid-i-Azam added, "we can achieve miracles."

Although the Quaid-i-Azam never rested a moment after he became the Governor-General and literally worked himself to death, his first two months were the busiest and most anxious. It was a period when Muslims were being mercilessly butchered in East Punjab and the West Punjab Government which had a Muslim League Ministry only from the 16th of August was suddenly confronted with the stupendous problem of refugees. It was a time of great trial and had he been unnerved, then Pakistan would have succumbed in the very hour of its birth.

The Quaid-i-Azam exerted himself to the utmost and thundered in those uncertain days, "Pakistan has come to stay," and, as everyone now knows, it stayed and shall stay. But at what grievous cost to himself!

Some people have blamed the Quaid-i-Azam for being cold. No doubt, he retained balance and poise and showed no weakness when smaller men were swayed by passion and wanted to give vent to it. If he did not keep his head cool, who would? But mentally he suffered deep anguish. Often in those days did I find him *walking up and down his bed room at dead of night*. If he did not have to exert as he did in those days, he might still have been in our midst.

It was during his second visit to Lahore in October 1947 where he had an attack of influenza that I realised how difficult he was in the matter of his personal health. I respectfully suggested to him twice to let us arrange for the best doctor available,

but he would say, "Amin, there is nothing wrong with me. I have had this bad throat on many occasions and I know what to do." He did not like doctors to experiment on him, as he put it himself humorously. He had also an aversion to a nurse attending on him probably because he did not want to be helped by others. In the beginning I used to pick his papers or pen to place before him, but he did not like it and would always help himself.

The Quaid-i-Azam always had firm views and convictions. And yet it is very wrong to say that he did not accept any suggestions made to him. He was not only the Governor-General of the State but the Quaid-i-Azam of the nation and knew best what was best. And, though I was a humble official, he did listen to my views on any point and would take great pains and time to convince me—and of course always left me convinced.

Though his mind was usually made up he sometimes relented and paid us the compliment, for our sincerity, by accepting our advice in harmless matters. I remember, for example, when he planned to visit Kakul and open the Pakistan Military Academy in may 1948 and suddenly became too indisposed to travel. He insisted to travel. He insisted upon going as, apart from having taken a decision once, any changes in his official engagements were most repugnant to him. But we all felt that he should not go and in the end he accepted our advice and agreed to the cancellation of the visit.

Our relations were not always those of Governor-General and a small official. The Quaid-i-Azam had a lovable human touch when he relaxed. He was very kind to me and considerate. Very often he would afford me the privilege of discussing his thoughts and impressions with me. At Lahore, when India had landed its troops in Kashmir, one day he said what a great tragedy it was for the Muslim nation that our enemies always had men from amongst us to do their work for them.

On another occasion at Ziarat conversation turned to those Muslims who had joined the Armed Forces during the war and had taken to drink in the hope of pleasing their British officers. The Quaid-i-Azam said that it was a poor commentary on the character of a man if he tried to win favours by such means. "People," he said, "should do the job entrusted to them, however small, ably and well, and sooner or later their industry would be recognised and rewarded. No employer would hold back a deserving person from going ahead. If the members of Government services learnt this principle and there was no manoeuvring for position or intrigues for promotion, nepotism and favour-

itism would come to and end, an our body politic would become much healthier than it is."

On yet another occasion, he said that Ziarat, which he loved, could be made into a beautiful city, with big comfortable hotels, nice bungalows, parks, flower gardens, and so on. He added smiling, "You know I dream, and sometimes my dreams come true. Pakistan was one such dream. Similarly, I dream about Ziarat and it may one day come true!"

The personality of the Quaid-i-Azam was so powerful that all the moments I had the privilege of being near him remain imprinted on my mind. I shall sooner forget myself than the memory of those precious moments.

The Quaid-i-Azam had keen sense of humour—his one quality generally unknown to the people. He was simply charming at times. He often regaled us with anecdotes and jokes at the dinner table.

On the 11th of August he came down to Quetta completing the first stage of his journey towards the Capital. In Quetta his health began to improve but on the 6th of September suddenly he developed fever. On the 11th we flew to Karachi. On this dark evening my association with him on this earth was for ever ended.

The Quaid-i-Azam was very fond of his house on the Malabar Hill in Bombay which he had built under his own orders and which, he was sorry, he had never had the opportunity to live in for a stretch of time. The house was left behind in India and his official house in Karachi he could not quite take to. So on the 12th of September 1948 punctually at 3 o'clock in the after-noon he moved out of it.

Still in Karachi but housed in only a few feet of subterranean clay and with no aide-de-camp to show in his thousands of daily admiring visitors, lies the first Governor-General of Pakistan, the founder of the fifth largest State in the world. May peace be on him !

Judicial Verdict on Jinnah

BY

SYED SHARIFUDDIN PIRZADA

[Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada has been one of the leading lawyers and senior Advocate of the Supreme Court of Pakistan. He was Chairman of the Company Law Commission. He led Pakistani delegations to various International Law Conferences. Before his present appointment as Pakistan's Foreign Minister, he was Attorney-General for Pakistan.]

The law is a jealous mistress. According to some, Story originated the dictum, others attribute it to Roger North. The rule is now firmly established and Mohammad Ali Jinnah was wedded to the Muslim League and as the Quaid-i-Azam fathered Pakistan, but that was his last love, his first love was law, and for over forty years he was devoted to the jealous mistress—the law.

His brilliant and epoch-making career has been portrayed by many. His towering personality, extraordinary ability, great character and his political achievements are well known. His able, bold and fearless advocacy of the Muslim cause resulted in the verdict for Pakistan. His fight for freedom will always be remembered but his battles at the Bar cannot be forgotten. Sensational cases apart, he had built up a solid, substantial and lucrative practice. He was the most versatile of advocates, practising with equal success before the Civil and Criminal Courts, original and appellate sides of the High Courts and last but not the least before the highest tribunal of the Commonwealth—the Privy Council.

"A successful counsel," according to Montgomery Hyde, "can as a rule either convince judges or sway juries. He is seldom capable of doing both, though occasionally, like the first Lord Reading and the first Lord Birkenhead, he does succeed in combining profound knowledge of law with moving eloquence,

Broadly speaking, however, legal practitioners may be classified either as lawyers or else as advocates." In the top rank of the former category must be reckoned jurists like Lord Simon and Sir Stafford Cripps. In the latter, advocates like Edward Carson, Marshall Hall, Norman Birkett, Sir Patric Hastings. Jinnah was not only doubly gifted but was a triple combination of Carson's cross-examination, Simon's subtlety of law and Marshall Hall's marshalling of facts.

Gandhi, Cripps and Jayakar

Jinnah's career as a counsel is beyond controversy whatsoever. In a letter to Lord Birkenhead, Mahatma Gandhi described Jinnah and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as the two cleverst lawyers of India. The compliment was well deserved. Sir Stafford Cripps spoke of him as "a most accomplished lawyer—outstanding amongst Indian lawyers and a fine constitutionalist."

M.R. Jayakar, a Judge of the Federal Court of India and later a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, quoted with concurrence in his memoirs, the following from *The Bombay Chronicle:* "If you want a case to be expounded to you, you are bound some day or other to go to Mr. Jinnah. He possesses, in a remarkable manner, both lucidity of phrase and clarity of vision."

Judges on Jinnah

Jinnah's forensic ability earned judicial approbation. His exposition evoked admiration from the judges and juries alike and the judgments are replete with appreciation of the skill and ability with which he conducted his cases. Mr. Justice Crump, who presided over the trial of an accused involve in the sensational Bowala murder case, was thrilled by his cross-examination and address to the jury. One of the well-known Professors of Bombay, who was frequently empanelled on various juries, portrayed him as a "magician with the monocle." The Professor recalled the murder case, wherein, while dissecting the evidence tendered by the prosecution, Jinnah at short intervals would pause and pose, "Is this the man?" When the jury retired, each one asked the other, "Is this the man?" and all of them had no hesitation in answering that "This was not the man" and in returning a unanimous verdict of "Not Guilty." Even the hostile Judge had to compliment Jinnah when the jury, contrary to His Lordship's directions, decided to acquit the accused in the famous Allo rape case at Surat.

Mr. Justice Beamon in *Pestonji* v. *Billimoria* reaffirmed that

hard cases notoriously make bad law. In that suit the legated had claimed the sum given to him under the will. The defendant trustee contended that it appeared from the will that that was not an ordinary bequest but was intended to be no more than the statisfaction of the debt owed by the testator. Sir Jamshed Kanga wanted to lead evidence in support thereof which was objected to by Mr. Jinnah. His Lordship, after discussing the various contention raised by the counsel, upheld the objection and observed:

> "When the case came on for trial the first question raised was whether the defendant was entitled to lay before the Court evidence of facts alleged to have been in the testator's mind, and, therefore, necessary to be known to the Court before it could truly apply the language used by the testator in the second clause of the will. This was, of course, strenuously opposed by Mr. Jinnah for the plaintiff, who, like most counsel of experience, is always most insistent on a legal technicality most ingenious, and I may say persuasive, in proportion as he feels that if this ground fails him his case is lost. Nevertheless, after giving the matter my most anxious consideration during the whole of his argument and the exhaustive and able reply to it by Mr. Kanga I am still unable to free myself from the logical compulsion of the technicality upon which Mr. Jinnah has taken his stand."

Mr. Justice Martin in the case of Tata Industries Bank Ltd. acknowledged thus:

> "I have had the advantage of a very useful argument from Mr. Jinnah in the course of which I believe he has drawn my attention to all the points that can be said in favour of his client."

In the leading case Tricum Das Mills the doctrine of Indoor Management and complicated questions of Company Law were involved. Mr. Justice Daver, in his exhaustive judgment, stated that "in this case some very interesting and important questions of law arise for consideration." Dealing with Mr. Jinnah's submissions the learned Judge commented that Mr. Jinnah has throughout the hearing "expended much labour and argued with great skill and conspicuous lucidity." In the end, while decreeing the suit in favour of Mr. Jinnah's client, the learned Judge could not avoid saying that: "The plaintiff must feel much indebted to the exertions of Mr. Jinnah who conducted his case, for this result of the suit." The same learned Judge in another matter of *Advocate-General* v. *Faridoonji*, wherein issuses involved were relating to the doctrine of Cypress and the power of the Court to vary and alter the decree already passed, noted that "Mr. Jinnah

has argued the question of the powers of the Court with great care and much elaboration and cited several authorities in support of his contentions."

Mr. Justice Chandrvarkar, in the case of Bibi Khaver Sultan, wherein the validity of gift under Mohammadan Law came up for consideration and His Highness the Agha Khan was examined as a witness, observed that "Mr. Jinnah conducted the plaintiff's case with considerable skill and ability." The same learned Judge in the suit of Raghirji Vizpal, a case of pledge and lien, complimented Jinnah "for having conducted the case with usual ability."

In the famous case of Raja of Nanpara, at Lucknow, leading lawyers of India appeared against Mr. Jinnah. The learned Judge of Oudh Chief Court, whose decision was upheld by their Lordships of the Privy Council, expressed thus: "I must also express my sense of great indebtedness to Mr. Jinnah for his extremely able arguments which were of great assistance to me in the decision of several difficult points of both fact and law involved in the case."

Witness of Truth

Reference may also be made to the judicial verdict on Jinnah when he appeared as a witness for the prosecution. In the trial of Rafiq Sabir, who was charged and eventually found guilty of attempt to murder, Mr. Jinnah, while summing up before jury Mr. Justice Blagden said: "I must say that in all my experience I have never seen a more obviously witness of truth than Mr. Jinnah." The experience of the learned Judge was undoubtedly vast, wide and varied from London to Culcutta and from Rangoon to Bombay.

Sir Patrick Spens' Verdict

Sir (now Lord) Patrick Spens, the last Chief Justice of undivided India, paid a tribute to "the tallness of the man, the immaculate manner in which he was turned out, the beauty of his features and the extreme courtesy with which he treated," and added, "no one could have made a more favourable impression than he did. There is no man or woman living who imputes anything against his honour or his honesty. He was the most upright person that I know, but throughout it all he never, as far as I know, for one moment attempted to deceive anybody as to what he was aiming at or as to the means he attempted to adopt to get it." Referring to Jinnah's practice before the Privy Council Lord Spens said :

"When he arrived early in 1931 he took a big house in Hampstead, he took chambers in King Bench Walk and he started off and appeared in a number of cases before the Privy Council. No doubt he had considerable assistance from old clients in Bombay but he made a name before the most critical judicial tribunal I believe in the world, and I say that with great deference to the Supreme Court of U.S.A. I think the Privy Council is the most critical. It is a friendly Court but is tremendously critical and no one who had not first-class brains, a great power of advocacy and above all great tact and politeness, would have made in so short a time such a fine practice as Mr. Jinnah did before the Privy Council."

Compliments of Privy Council

Their Lordships of the Privy Council very sparingly complimented any counsel in their judgments and decisions. Lord Thankerton, in the reported judgments of the Privy Council in *Abdul Majid Khan* v. *Saraswati Bai*, made a special mention that "the arguments of the appellant were dealt with fully and clearly by Mr. Jinnah." Lord Jowitt recalled and wrote: "we all had a great admiration for his great skill and the judgment with which he conducted his cases before the Privy Council."

Unrivalled Advocate

Apart from the judicial verdict, Jinnah's mastery in the forensic field is apparent from the fact that one of his disciples, M. C. Chagla, rose to be the Chief Justice of the High Court of Bombay where Jinnah generally practised for over forty years. He was the first Indian to hold that office and it will not be out of place to quote his opinion about Jinnah. Mr. Chagla (now a member of the Indian Cabinet) wrote: "Jinnah was a pure artist in the manner and method of his presentation. Even the most complex facts became simple and obvious when he waved his wand over them. He could be ferociously aggressive and almost boyishly persuasive as and when the occasion arose, and what particularly helped him in his advocacy was the absolute clear head that he possessed and on which he justly prided himself. He had common sense, that most uncommon of qualities, in an uncommon degree."

By way of summing up, reference may be made to the glowing tribute paid to Jinnah by the premier legal journal of India. *The All-India Reporter* recorded, "Although Mr. Jinnah's

career as a political leader and as the representative of the successful Muslim movement for separation in India overshadows all other aspects of his life, a legal journal like this has to take note of the fact that he was a lawyer of outstanding eminence and in his death our country has lost one of its greatest lawyers. As a brilliant advocate, he had few rivals. He was also universally recognised as a man of unimpeachable integrity and honoured by friend and foe alike for his incorruptibility. Mr. Jinnah's name will live in history as the greatest protagonist of the two-nation theory in India and the creator of Pakistan."

Mohammad Ali Jinnah

AMBASSADOR OF HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

BY

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

[Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was a front-rank Indian leader and an ardent champion of freedom and independence. She was a woman of great parts, being a talented poet, litterature and orator. She was one of the very few Indian leaders who, whatever her political views, was free from antipathy towards Muslims and their aspirations. She was a sympathetic student of Islam, Muslim culture and Urdu language in which she was well versed. She was widely respected for the catholicity of her outlook and sympathy. Mrs. Naidu was a friend of the Quaid-i-Azam and a sincere admirer of his great qualities and accomplishments. The article reproduced below is her introduction to the collection of the Quaid-i-Azam's speeches which she published in 1918.]

Few figures of the Indian Renaissance are so striking or so significant; to a student of psychology none more singularly attractive by the paradox of a rare and complex temperament, of strange limitations and subtle possibilities, that hides the secret of its own greatness like a pearl within a shell.

Never was there a nature whose outer qualities provided so complete an antithesis of its inner worth. Tall and stately, but thin to the point of emaciation, languid and luxurious of habit, Mohammad Ali Jinnah's attenuated form is a deceptive sheath of a spirit of exceptional vitality and endurance. Somewhat formal and fastidious, and a little aloof and imperious of manner, the calm hauteur of his accustomed reserve but masks, for those who know him, a naive and eager humanity, an intuition quick and tender as a woman's, a humour gay and winning as a child's—



A gathering of Hindu and Muslim leaders at the historic sessions of the Indian National Congress and the All India Muslim League at Lucknow in December 1916.
(*Sitting L to R*) Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir S. P. Sinha, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu, Nawab Syed Muhammad,
(*Standing L to R*) Syed Wazir Hasan, Mr. Hasan Imam, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub,——, Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, Syed Raza Ali.

pre-eminently rational and practical, discreet and dispassionate in his estimate and acceptance of life, the obvious sanity and serenity of his worldly wisdom effectually disguise a shy and splendid idealism which is of the very essence of the man.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah was born on 25 December 1876 (there is no reliable record of the actual year)—the eldest son of a rich merchant of Karachi. Reared in careless affluence and adored by his family, he might so easily have grown into an indolent and ignorant boyhood. But he fortunately loved his studies and received his early education at the Madrassah and afterwards at the Mission School of his native city. In 1892 he was sent to England—"a tall, thin boy in a funny long coat",—is an amusing description of him. There he joined Lincoln's Inn, studied law and was in due course called to the bar. It seems a pity that so fine an intelligence should have denied itself the hallmark of a University training. But he had, instead, what from an India standpoint was the golden privilege of close association with the great Dadabhai Naoroji, then President of the London Indian Society, and the guardian angel of young India in England. What can exaggerate the value of such a noble inspiration in moulding the soul of a disciple so reverent and responsive?

On his return to India in 1896 Mohammad Ali Jinnah found his family involved in heavy financial ruin; and this favourite of fortune, suddenly faced with unexpected poverty, set out to conquer the world equipped with nothing but the charmed missiles of his youth, his courage and his ambition.

After three years of severe hardship, his brave and buoyant patience bore fruit. Through the kind offices of an old friend he was granted permission to read in the Chambers of Mr. Mcpherson, then acting Advocate-General of Bombay—a courteous concession, the first of its kind ever extended to an Indian which its recipient still remembers as a beacon of hope in the dark distress of his early struggles.

Occasional briefs now began to dribble in, and the obscure young lawyer needing only an opportunity soon proved his real mettle and started to lay the foundation of his notable legal success.

In 1906 when I met him in Calcutta at the historic sessions of the Indian National Congress where Dadabhai Naoroji first enunciated the glorious ideal of Self-Government for India, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, for the moment acting as private secretary to his old master, was already accounted a rising lawyer and a coming politician. For, true to his earlier teaching and fired no doubt by

the virile patriotism of men like the late Mr. Badruddin Tyabji and the lion-hearted Pherozeshah Mehta he had long since joined the ranks of the National Congress and regularly attended its annual gatherings. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that his maiden speech at this National Assembly was made in connection with the Waqf-alal-Aulad—a measure that was later to bring his name into such prominence. Interesting too, and suggestive in view of succeeding events, it is to find this future leader of the Mussalmans present as a sort of "cross bencher" at the conference of Hindu and Muslim leaders convened at Allahabad in 1910 under Sir William Wedderburn's benign direction to consider a somewhat premature and artificial *entente cordiale* between the two communities still so sharply divided by a gulf of mutual dislike and distrust.

In the autumn of 1910 he was elected by the Mussalmans of Bombay Presidency as their representative to the Supreme Legislative Council, and though the question naturally arises as to how far it was consistent with the avowed principle of so staunch a nationalist to represent a purely sectarian interest, the fact nevertheless remains that Mohammad Ali Jinnah invariably lent his willing support to every liberal measure involving the larger national issues like Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill, to which conservative India as a whole was so valiantly opposed. His only original work, however, during the period was in connection with the Wakf Validating Bill, to introduce which he was specially nominated for an extra term in 1913 by Lord Hardinge, then Viceroy. His admirable skill and tact in piloting through such an intricate and controversial measure—the first instance of a Bill passing into legislation on the motion of a private member —won him not only the appreciation of his colleagues but also his first meed of general recognition from his co-religionists all over India, who while still regarding him a little outside the orthodox pale of Islam were so soon to seek his advice and guidance in their political affairs.

On his return from the Imperial Council in March he gave his evidence before the Public Service Commission then sitting in Bombay—a refereshing page in a vast mass of weary details.

Meanwhile the Time spirit, so busy altering world values and world visions had been secretly at work and the heart of Muslim India, always passionately faithful to its own spiritual traditions, became suddenly and vividly aware also of its own political inheritance and its own responsibility in shaping the national future.

The All-India Muslim League, started a few years earlier at Dacca to voice current Mussalman opinion and aspiration, was found to be too narrow and too nebulous in its scope and aims for this intense and growing national consciousness. And about the middle of 1912 a conference of Muslim leaders met at Calcutta to consider the remodelling of the constitution on more progressive and patriotic lines. It was decided to send Syed Wazir Hasan, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the League, on an extensive tour to ascertain the views of Muslims in every province regarding so momentous a change of policy and perspective. And in the following December a special meeting of the Association was called, presided over by His Highness the Agha Khan to discuss the draft of an entirely new constitution, which was ultimately and enthusiastically adopted at the momorable sessions of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow on 22 March 1913—a date that inaugurates a new era in the political history of Muslim India.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, pledged to the greater national welfare, had with characteristic independence and honesty kept apart from a movement till then so frankly and exclusively sectarian in its purpose. But by an act of courtesy which was in itself a graceful acknowledgment of his merits he was invited to attend the Calcutta Conference and also the later Council meeting where, being specially requested to speak, he gave his informal and invaluable support to Clause D of the new Constitution which materially embodies the Congress ideal of "Attainment under the aegis of the British Crown of a system of Self-Government suitable to India through constitutional means, by bringing about, among others, a steady reform of the existing system of administration by promoting national unity, by fostering public spirit among the people of India and by co-operating with other communities for the said purpose."

The year 1913 stands out as a distinct landmark in my friend's inner life. Not only did a wider measure of public recognition wake in him a deeper sense of personal responsibility but one or two new and sympathetic influences brought an intimate touch of warmth and colour into his somewhat lonely and impersonal existence.

About the middle of April he proceeded to Europe in search of a long holiday with Gokhale for fellow-traveller, and the Arabian stars and Egyptian waters keep record doubtless of their mutual hopes and dreams for the country of their devoted service.

Once in England, however, there was no rest for this tireless worker. He was at once drawn into the tangled web of the student-world whose cause he espoused with such assiduous zeal and understanding. Within a few weeks of his arrival he founded the London Indian Association which forms so excellent a focus for the otherwise scattered energies and activities of young India in a foreign land ; and it was mainly at his instance that a committee was appointed by the India Office to inquire into the legitimate grievances of Indian students suffering so keenly from an unnecessary and unaccountable set of new rules and restrictions hindering their admission into educational centres hitherto so hospitable and so easy of access.

In May 1914 he returned to England as a member of the All-India Congress Deputation concerning the proposed reform of the India Council. He had already in this connection moved resolutions both at the Karachi sessions of the Congress a few months earlier and at the Agra session of the Muslim League.

In a country where the personal element forms so integral a part of public success, it was no small compliment to Mohammad Ali Jinnah's social as well as mental qualities that he was chosen to be the spokesman of articulate India before the representatives of the British Parliament and the British public. The leading English journals published numerous interviews and his concise and lucid statement of the Indian case which appeared in the London *Times* attracted widespread attention and comment.

The tragic death of Gopal Krishna Gokhale in February 1915 brought Hindus and Mussalmans close together in a bond of common loss and sorrow. It was keenly felt that the time was now ripe for a more direct and definite *rapprochement* between the two great communities that had so recently exchanged such cordial expressions of goodwill and fellowship from afar.

The Indian National Congress was to hold its sittings that year in Bombay, and there could be no better centre of reconciliation than this cosmopolitan capital of India. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, supported at the time by all the leading local Mussalmans, sent an invitation to the All-India Muslim League to hold its next annual session in Bombay during the national week in December.

The story of that invitation and its startling sequel is too well known to be re-told in all the details of its shameful and subterranean intrigue so carefully conceived, so cleverly manipulated. Sufficient to say that in an hour of such grave and bitter crisis,

calculated to shatter the master-dream of Indian nationalism, this dauntless soldier of unity rose to the heights of an invincible patriotism. With a proud and splendid indifference to all personal suffering and sacrifice, heedless alike of official dissuasion or disfavour, the aggressive malice and machinations of his opponents, or even the temporary injustice of distant friends, Mohammad Ali Jinnah strove with an incomparable devotion and courage to create that supreme moment in our national history which witnessed the birth of new India, redeemed and victorious in the love of her united children.

Seldom has the pageant of time unrolled a scene so touching, so thrilling, so magnificent with drama and destiny as was enacted on the afternoon of 30 December 1915, when amidst the tears and applause of a gathered multitude the veteran heroes of the National Congress entered in a body to greet and bless their comrades of the Muslim League.

The new year dawned cloudless for this valiant fighter of national battles, bringing him some of the highest awards of his professional and public career. He added much lustre to his forensic reputation by his masterly conduct of two sensational law-suits that aroused deep interest throughout the country, connected respectively with Mr. Horniman, the trusted friend, and Mr. Tilak, the beloved tribune of the Indian people.

In the autumn he was once more elected by his province to the Viceregal Council where he commands unanimous respect and esteem by his personal dignity of character and his fearless and vigilant championship of Indian rights and demands.

Towards the close of 1916 Mohammad Ali Jinnah was twice called upon to make a public declaration of his political creed, as President of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Ahmadabad in October and, two months later, as President of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow. Both in his Gujrat address in which he indicated a tentative system of administrative reforms partly based on Gokhale's Scheme, since published, and in his Lucknow pronouncement where he so firmly and clearly defined the place and purpose of Muslim India in the national regeneration, he proved the remarkable breadth and boldness of his statesmanship, his consummate grasp of both the transitional phases and the abiding principles of political evolution, and his incorruptible faith in the vision of a free and federated India claiming her honoured place and making her matchless contribution in the mighty republic of world nations and civilisations.

As a speaker Mohammad Ali Jinnah has the triple assets of a magnetic presence, an impressive delivery, and a voice which, while lacking volume, has an arresting timbre. But though occasionally he has attainded a moment of wholly unconscious and stirring eloquence, he has the cogent force of a brilliant advocate rather than the flowing fervour of a brilliant orator. And it is not on a public platform but at a round table conference that he finds full scope for his unusual powers of persuasion, luminous exposition, searching argument and impeccable judgment. It is an open secret that his was a large and open share in the recent discussions regarding the Muslim University as well as the anxious deliberations of the joint Congress-League Committee that sat at Lucknow last year to formulate a scheme of Indian reforms elaborated from the Memorandum of the Nineteen.

There was, it must be admitted, a growing surprise and reproach in the minds of his followers that so ardent an apostle of Indian Self-Government should hold aloof from the recently organised Home Rule movement which was rousing the country like a clarion call to freedom. It may have been partly due to a lingering sense of allegiance to a school of politics in which he had been trained, but whose timid and stationary doctrines he had long since outgrown or it may have been due to the habitual caution of a nature slow to commit itself to new and far-reaching responsibilities. However, the news of Mrs. Besant's internment last June, which evoked such unparalleled demonstrations throughout India, moved Mohammad Ali Jinnah to a prompt and militant chivalry in defence of immutable laws of justice and liberty so rashly and so ruthlessly assailed. He immediately joined the Bombay Home Rule League, not merely as a member, but undertook, as its President, the delicate task of guiding its fortunes and guarding its interest through that troubled period of its indignant activities.

To attempt at this stage more than a brief general survey of Mohammad Ali Jinnah's work were both untimely and unfair to a man in the very prime of life and on the threshold of his public achievement.

A casual pen might surely find it easier to describe his limitations than to define his virtues. His are none of the versatile talents that make so many of his contemporaries justly famed beyond the accepted circle of their daily labours. Not his the gracious gifts of mellow scholarship, or rich adventure or radiant conversation; not his the burning passion of philanthropy or

religious reforms. Indeed, by his sequestered tasks and temperament Mohammad Ali Jinnah is essentially a solitary man with a large political following but few intimate friendships, and outside the twin spheres of law and politics he has few resources and few accomplishments.

But the true criterion of his greatness lies not in the range and variety of his knowledge and experience but in the faultless perception and flawless refinement of his subtle mind and spirit; not in a diversity of aims and the challenge of a towering personality but rather in a lofty singleness of purpose and the lasting charm of a character animated by a brave conception of duty and an austere and lovely code of private honour and public integrity.

The tale of his actual contribution is still comparative slender. But it is not by the substance but by the rare significance of his patriotic service that he holds to-day his unique place in front rank of our national leaders.

Like others of our generation he suffers from a system of education so widely separated from the familiar traditions and culture of our race, and lacking the magic of a common medium, he may never perhaps hope to establish between himself and his people that instructive and inviolable kinship that makes the interned Mohammad Ali, for instance, a living hero of the Mussalmans and Mahatma Gandhi a living idol of the masses.

But it is nonetheless his personal triumph and a testimony to his authentic mission that he stands approved and confirmed by his countrymen not merely as an ambassador but an embodied symbol of the Hindu-Muslim unity.

Who can foretell the secrets of to-morrow? Who foresee the hidden forces that sometimes work to build our destiny higher than our dream? Perchance it is written in the book of the future that he whose fair ambition it is to become the Muslim Gokhale may in some glorious and terrible crisis of our national struggle pass into immortality as the Mazzini of the Indian liberation.*

*Mrs. Naidu's prophecy proved true, for acceptance and implementation of the partition of India advocated by the Quaid-i-Azam ensured freedom for both nations—Hindu and Muslim—*Editor.*

The Quaid-i-Azam as I Knew Him

BY

DEWAN CHAMAN LAL

[Dewan Chaman Lal is one of the prominent leaders of the Indian National Congress and a zealous freedom fighter. He is a member of the Indian Parliament. Like Mrs. Naidu he is one of the few Hindu leaders who, irrespective of political views, understood and admired the Quaid-i-Azam. As a long-time friend Mr. Chaman Lal writes intimately about the Quaid-i-Azam revealing significant features of his character and personality.]

This is going to be an exercise in memory; but, I must confess memory that brings the bouquet of halcyon days spent with men who have left a deep impression upon the sands of history. It is said of Alexander the Great that he was forgotten within a year or so of his invasion and remembered only as Bogey Sikand, conjured by irate mothers to frighten their obstreperous children with. This, unfortunately, is the fate of all conquerors. But in the case of the fighters of freedum it is a somewhat different matter. They live not only in memory but in the hearts of the people for whom they fought. And the Quaid-i-Azam, as he later came to be known, was no exception.

It was a cold bleak evening in London, just after the First World War, when I was summoned to a flat, I believe, near Regent's Park to meet the newly-married Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He had come to London with his beautiful wife and had won the heart of everyone who came into contact with him. He had tremendous dignity. He was immaculately dressed, although a bit more formally than even formality demanded. But there was nothing apart and aloof about him. Those were the days of accessible leaders who vied one with the other to mix with all and sundry. But as far as Mr. Jinnah was concerned it was part of his nature. Dressed as he used to, there was a touch of the

histrionic about him; nevertheless, with his amazing sense of humour he refused to take other people seriously just as much as he refused to take himself seriously. Taking oneself seriously meant stuffiness and pomposity and in that sense he was opposed to the striking of such an attitude.

Uninhibited Laughter

And so when I mounted the steps to the flat and found myself presently in the company of Mr. Jinnah, this was the picture of the man that registered itself on my mind—the picture of a man you took to instantaneously, a man who disarmed you with his informality and a feeling that he was one of you and above all with his uninhibited laughter when telling a funny story which was often in the category of a parable.

It would be wrong to say that he behaved with everyone on that level. When he was hurt or thought he was hurt he could be very different indeed.

First Talk

I had hardly got down to my cup of tea with a bitten sandwich in my hand, when Mr. Jinnah suddenly turned to me to pose a question. To understand Jinnah you must remember that his mind was one of the most active I have known. He was always posing questions, ready to argue about anything because he was deeply interested in life and his own reaction to it. I will put down my first talk with him in 1918 as nearly as I can remember it.

Jinnah: You know that I am going to give evidence before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament on the Government of India Bill.

Myself: I know. Tilak is probably following you. I have just seen him and I have not known a man who is preparing for the ordeal as he is—literally at it day and night with all his advisers about him—Khaparde, Kelkar and your friend Joseph Baptista and the rest. We have not been told what it is going to be about. On the contrary we have been rushing up and down the country addressing meetings. Deep (Deep Narayan Singh), Horniman, Andrew MacLaren (later Labour M.P.), Satyanmurti and myself.

Jinnah : What sort of meeting?

Myself: Oh! mostly labour rallies, but most enthusiastic, have just returned from Cardiff.

Jinnah : You see what is bothering me is the one question the Committee is bound to ask me. Now what is the answer?

The question is a simple one—How do you justify an advance in self-government with a literacy percentage of only 12 or perhaps less?

I had not long ago finished my Finals at Oxford in Jurisprudence. I was a bit of an authority on Constitutional Law, Legal History and Jurisprudence. I had done well in these subjects and apart from the knowledge I possessed, I had the brass and cheek of a newly arrived graduate of the University of Oxford and, therefore, I said simply almost airily :

"Well, that presents no difficulty whatsoever. All you have to do is to pose a counter-question.

"Did the lack of literacy prevent you from going ahead with your successive Reforms Acts which continuously enlarged the franchise? And if it was good for England why should it be bad for India?

I remember vividly his slapping himself with delight (I remember the striped trousers and a very highly starched and very white shirt cuff with cuff-links of amethyst set in gold).

When his turn came to give evidence in the House of Lords where the Committee sat—a committee which included Lord Sinha as a member—pat came the question and pat came the answer, to the evident satisfaction and delight of all of us .Jinnah seldomt ailed to score a point. Poor Lokmanya Tilak. He came ready of answer questions, if necessary, right through the week. The Chairman looked at him, took his prepared statement, put it on one side and freezingly bowed to the old man who was completely dumbfounded. No questions were asked of Lokmanya Tilak of course it made our blood boil.

A little late Mrs. Jinnah went with her husband to the theatre one night. They sat in a box but had to leave it hurriedly and return home quickly. That night their only child was born.

I did not see Jinnah for a couple of years after my meeting with him in London, but when I returned to India in the New Year (1920) I went straight to Mount Pleasant Road only to find that he had gone away with his wife Rati to Ootacamund for a holiday.

I left for the Punjab and dutifully applied to be enrolled as an Advocate of the High Court of Judicature. On the basis of my political activities in Great Britain I was refused enrolment. I was told very curtly that if the application was put up the

following year it would be considered. It was obvious that the judiciary had been influenced by the Executive—a scandalous state of affairs. When I returned to Bombay Jinnah was horrified to hear of what had happened. He insisted that we should proceed to test the authority of the High Court and, if necessary, to take the matter up to the Privy Council.

I said : "No ; it is not worth the candle. Besides it will give me time to devote myself to the organisation of labour," in which work my heart was deeply immersed.

It must not be forgotten that one of the most characteristic qualities that Jinnah possessed was his unshakable faith in constitutionality. An incident like the one I have related shocked him immensely. I dined with the Jinnah's that night.

Chairman of Bombay Chronicle

The next morning I received a telephone call asking me whether I would like to take on the leader-writership of *The Bombay Chronicle*. Jinnah was then the Chairman of the Board of Directors. I agreed on the condition that I would not join earlier than after the summer was over and left immediately for Mussoorie.

Another drama was being enacted in Mussoorie. The Afghan Peace Delegation was housed in the Savoy Hotel. So also were father and son, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and the Prime Minister of India, and the day of my arrival both had been ordered to be externed from Mussoorie. Naturally (there were no motor cars in those days lying up to Mussoorie) riding up the short cut from Rajpura I was accompanied by a secret service man who wanted to know all about my purpose in visiting Mussoorie.

Hardly had I spent the weekend at Mussoorie when I was summoned peremptorily to Bombay to take charge of my post—Syed Hussain had left to join *The Independent* at Allahabad, the newspaper started by Pandit Motilal Nehru.

His successor Pothan Joseph had left to join *Capital* in Calcutta. I arrived, in these circumstances, to find a difficult situation facing me but I was glad that Jinnah's choice had justified itself—the circulation started steadily mounting until in a short while it had doubled itself.

We were both members of the Indian National Congress. We travelled together to the Nagpur Session. Jinnah got down at a wayside station to stretch his legs—the tall, dignified figure who seldom did this sort of thing as exercise of any sort was

taboo to him. I heard one young man, who had been watching him closely for some time, say to another:

"Look there goes Shaukat Ali."

"Nonsense," said his companion, "Shaukat Ali is a big fat man. This is not Shaukat Ali."

"I tell you, this is Shaukat Ali. He has gone very thin, of course, what do you expect Khilafat worries?"

Last Speech from Congress Platform

In those days Jinnah was not so wellknown as a person and the public outside Bombay knew little of him personally. This was the time of Khilafat Movement and Gandhiji's impending Civil Disobedience Movement. Both movements were unconstitutional and went against the grain as far as Jinnah was concerned. Nagpur saw the final breach between Jinnah and the Congress. It was the last occasion that I saw him make a speech from a Congress platform.

But although Jinnah had left the Congress, he was just as ardent a nationalist, just as ardently desiring freedom for his country as any person in the land. He had chalked out for himself a different path to the path Gandhiji was about to tread for the achievement of freedom. He believed in a constitutional approach and not a revolutionary approach. He believed in the preservation of law and order and not its breach—no matter in what good cause.

Soon we found ourselves together in the Central Legislative Assembly after the General Election of 1923. Jinnah's advocacy before the Joint Select Committee in London was justified. The electorate, although mostly illiterate, was obviously intelligent. It was a momentous session. Much had happened during the three years between Jinnah's departure from Nagpur Session of the Congress and the holding of the second general election under the Montague Reforms. First and foremost was the return of a most influential wing of the Congress to the ways of constitutional agitation. Under the leadership of Maulana Azad, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Deshabandhu C. R. Das was formed the Swarajya Party at Lucknow in 1922 pledged to strive for freedom but pledged equally not to neglect the great opportunity afforded to us in the various legislatures of the country. Tulsi and I were founder members of the Party. On the limited franchise the country voted overwhelmingly for us—but owing to the factor of the special interest constituencies which were just pocket boroughs, had the large number of officials and nominated

members who adorned the treasury benches, the popular forces were not able to muster, each separately, a clear majority in a house of 144 members.

Independent Party

We met in Delhi in three separate parties. The first was the Sawarajya Party, the second the National Party of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the third the Independent Party of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who had, later on, as his right-hand man and Secretary of the Party, my old friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, who performed his duties with remarkable skill and intelligence. We came from neighbouring towns in Pakistan and we do not know how far back in history our families had known each other.

Firm Stand

It became apparent that a great opportunity had arisen of forming a united front against our rulers. After preliminary talks among the leaders we succeeded in forming a united nationalist party consisting of 76 members which gave us a clear majority which was designed to paralyse the Government. Unfortunately, this unity was shortlived.

It was the Budget Session, Jinnah was approached along with Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar of Malaviyaji's Party for the purpose of united action on the budget. The Swarajist suggestion was that all items in the Budget should be voted down. Jinnah's view was that this was unconstitutional and revolutionary and that, for the purpose of demonstration, it was necessary to vote down only the first item and discuss the others on their merits. The fat was in the fire. Along with Tulsi Goswami I went to and fro from Eastern Court to Maidens Hotel trying to bring about an understanding but, alas! in vain. Both Motilal Nehru and Jinnah stood firm, an augury of what was to happen a few years later.

We had on the one side the "khadi"-clad leaders of the Swarajya Party and on the other the tall, fine figure of Jinnah dressed in a morning coat and striped trousers. His ties were always a wonder to us. My wife asked him one day whether it was a mere surmise on her part or the truth that Jinnah never wore a tie twice. Jinnah looked pleased and said: "Well, seldom, very seldom." I reminded him of the day we spent together in Paris in 1928 roaming the shops to buy ties and shirts. After seeing hundreds of ties he, at last, chose one—he was fastidious

to that extent. And as for shirts, he had them made for him at Charves in Paris and pretty nearly put me on short rations because I could not resist ordering a few myself.

Hard as Steel

Friendly as he always was, he could be on occasions as hard as steel. Somehow or other a rift had arisen between husband and wife and the same year in Paris I found Rati Jinnah almost on her death-bed at a Champs Elysee clinic. A message was waiting for me to call at the clinic immediately on my arrival from Geneva where I had gone as head of the Indian workers delegation to the I.L.O. Conference. They took the suitcases out and I continued my journey in the same taxi to the clinic. Rati had a temperature of 106 degrees. She was delirious. I came home and telephoned London for Jinnah who, unfortunately, was in Dublin at the time. A message was relayed to him in Dublin and he arrived in Paris not immediately but two days late.

Rati Jinnah

At the George V, where he stayed, he said to me, "But Lady Petit (his mother-in-law) tells me Rati is better." I said: "I have just come from the clinic and it seems to me she, with a temperature of 106 degrees, is dying." He sat still for a couple of minutes, struggling with himself and asked me to telephone the clinic which I did. He spoke to the nurse in charge who confirmed what I had told him. Thumping the arm of his chair, he said: "Come, let us go. We must save her."

I left him at the clinic for nearly three hours waiting at a nearby cafe and when he returned, the anxiety had vanished from his face. He had arranged for a new clinic and a new medical adviser and all was going to be well. But alas! although Mrs. Jinnah recovered, she did not stay on with her husband but returned ahead of him to Bombay and I do not think they met again.

First Talk with His Father-in-Law

I was sitting with him in the Western Court when a trunk call was put through to him from Bombay. He spoke calmly saying he would leave that night. He came towards me, after the conversation was over and said: "Rati is seriously ill. I must leave tonight"—and then there was a pause. "Do you know," he added, "who that was? It was my father-in-law. This is the first time we have spoken to each other since my

marriage." I persuaded him to leave the next morning by the Frontier Mail as the night train would not get him to Bombay any quicker. I did not know then but learnt only later that Rati was not merely seriously ill but she was actually dead when they put through that call to Jinnah.

I do not believe in witchcraft, fortune-telling and spooks and spirits ; but there is no denying the fact that most people interested in these things have had extraordinary experiences. After Rati's marriage her proud husband brought her to Delhi where, laughing and happy, she met an Irish woman named Mrs. Harker, who was alleged to have been possessed of second sight. As she saw this beautiful, young woman so happy and so gay, she turned to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a very great friend of the Jinnahs, and said with a sad face : "My dear! I see a dreadful sight. I see this beautiful child dead before my eyes, dead ten years hence on her birthday."

It was a terrible time for Jinnah who was not of the demonstrative kind. And it was a terrible thing for such a brilliant young woman to have died so young. I remembered that I had persuaded her to become, along with Lokmanya Tilak, a Vice-President of the first session of the All-India Trades Union Congress which I had founded in 1920. At the Conference at which, surprisingly enough, nearly nine hundred delegates had gathered together at the Empire Theatre in Bombay, Mr. Jinnah made a moving speech from a box supporting the resolution for the removal of all bans on the re-entry into India of that great friend of the Indian people, Benjamin Guy Horniman.

Soon a great change came over the Indian scene. Constitutional ways were discarded and the Swarajya Party staged mass resignation from the Central Legislature, the leaders courting arrest. The plight of the British Government of the day was desperate. Outgoings were about 2½ crores a week and income had fallen to about a crore. A financial crisis was evident since even when with the backing of the great British Empire loans were floated and Treasury Bills offered at 7½% interest, money needed to fill the deficit gap was not forthcoming. But there was at the head an astute Viceroy, Lord Irwin, who settled with the man of God, Gandhi, one fine morning in what came to be known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Jinnah at this time was not prominent in politics because the times were different and the country was laid under fire and sword—the sort of unconstitutionality he had always tried to prevent.

Privy Council Practice

Irwin made way for a very debonair Viceroy, Willingdon, and Willingdon was an old opponent of Jinnah. He had not forgotten the famous public meeting at which Jinnah, in Bombay, had denounced Willingdon and his regime on the eve of Willingdon's departure many years previously. Jinnah, disturbed in mind by his own domestic tragedy and disturbed equally by the shape of events, decided to leave India and for the time being settled down in London to practise at the Privy Council. When I met him in his Chambers at the Temple, beautiful oak-panelled chambers, he put on the switch of the electric kettle and made tea for us—myself and Margarita Barns. He had taken a lovely house in the North-West and considered himself well repaid in having made a little less than a couple of thousand pounds at his practice the very first year. He had really wanted to get away from everything he had been immersed in politically in his own country—a feeling that comes upon every politician some time or other in his career. But things in India were beginning to change after the failure of the Round Table Conference of which he and I were both original members but which membership I resigned in view of the foolish arrest of Pandit Motilal Nehru who had agreed to come to London to discuss Dominion Status with Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister. The move, which was made by Sir Malcolm Hailey, the U. P. Governor, was taken by all of us to mean that in India the British authorities were anxious and quite capable of sabotaging a projected settlement. As I had carried on negotiations in London in this connection it was a very serious blow to me apart from the terrible cruelty of Panditji's arrest which ended with his most untimely death for which the whole of India grieved.

Return to India

However, the India Bill was on the anvil when Jinnah decided to return to India. I met him at the Willingdon Club in 1934 soon after his return. He said to me and my wife, when we asked him to stand for election : "No, I am finished politically." I was horrified. I said : "You must not dream of talking like this." "Well," he said, "if you can get five people like you to stand by me, I will re-enter the political field." I said : "That is not difficult" and I telegraphed forthwith to Tulsi Goswami (who later became Finance Minister in the Muslim League Government in United Bengal), Nalini Ranjan Sarkar and others, telling them what Jinnah had said and each one of them assured me through Tulsi that Jinnah would have their full support. A few days

later when we met again, Jinnah said: "It is Jinnah's luck. I have been elected President of the League again"—and all doubts were set at rest about his plunge into politics.

In considering Jinnah's career, this element of luck must never be forgotten.

The elections came in 1937 under the New Constitution and Jinnah fought a great battle single-handed. He had hoped to score a victory in the U.P., Bengal and Punjab. He was defeated but not disheartened, as he had gathered a great volume of support around him. For the Punjab we decided upon a coalition if he would agree to run alternate Ministries—the Congress followed by his party. From Feroze Khan Noon's room in Faletti's Hotel, we telephoned to Jinnah who was then in Assam.* We could not get him. When eventually he was contacted the situation had altered and we got nowhere. Perhaps the history of the Punjab and, indeed, of India might have been different had the suggested experiment taken place.

There is a great deal more to write about the Quaid-i-Azam. I am probably one of the few people still alive who knew him politically, who understood him better than most. Although we belonged to different parties—that difference was dust in the balance of our great understanding of each other. But it would require a whole volume to put down all that one would like to say about Jinnah. He was misunderstood greatly. But for this the whole course of Indian politics might have been different. For instance in 1937 he offered a settlement which I communicated to Mahatma Gandhi. It did not come off. One day I shall deal with this important fact. I had recently been released from gaol during the "Quit India" movement when I received in Lahore a message to say that Jinnah was staying with Mamdot and would like to see me. I had been very ill but I went. His concern for my health was so tender that, emotionally wrought as I was during a long period in gaol, I almost broke down and hurriedly took my leave asking Jinnah to dine with me the following night which he did. He asked me then to get into touch with Gandhiji in Poona and suggested a certain settlement. That

*There is some confusion about the dates. The writer is probably referring here to the elections of 1946 when the Muslim League won 79 out of 86 Muslim seats. There was talk of Congress-Muslim League coalition ministry in the Punjab but it did not materialise due to Abul Kalam Azad's efforts to the contrary which resulted in the formation of Unionist-Congress coalition ministry—*Editor*.

was the last offer and, although I sent it by one of the leaders who was going to see Gandhiji in Poona, I received no reply. Jinnah stayed on till very late that night and as he was about to go, after a very long talk with my wife he turned to me and said :

"Well, I must go now. I have been talking to Mrs. Chum." (that is how he always called her. For her he had been a hero since the day when, at her age of 17, he had sat next to her at dinner and, turning his back on all and sundry including Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, had talked to her all through the evening). "I have been talking to Mrs. Chum. She does not agree with me but I think she sees my meaning." I said : "Jinnah, what you really mean is that she is a little more intelligent than I am." "Yes," said Jinnah, "that is exactly what I mean," and laughing we saw him off to his car.

[*From* Pakistan Times, 11 *September* 1959]

The Voice of India

BY

FRANK MORAES

[Mr. Frank Moraes is a distinguished Indian journalist of long standing. He is known for his breadth of outlook and independence of views. He is Editor-in-Chief of one of the leading Indian neswpapers, *The Indian Express*.]

Mr. Jinnah to-day is perhaps the most discussed figure in Indian politics. He attracts attention. You may disagree with his views, you may dislike his politics, but you cannot ignore him.

Watch him in the court-room as he argues a case. Few lawyers command a more attentive audience. Mr. Bhulbhai Desai, with the red brief-tape twining and untwining round his fingers, weaves his arguments as a magician might his incantations. One is always astounded by his legal legerdemain. But Mr. Jinnah's methods are different.

No man is more adroit in presenting his case. If to achieve the maximum result with minimum effort is the hall-mark of artistry, Mr. Jinnah is an artist in his craft. He likes to get down to the bare bones of a brief; in stating the essentials of a case his manner is masterly.

The drab court-room acquires an atmosphere as he speaks. Juniors crane their necks forward to follow every movement of the tall, well-groomed figure; senior counsels listen closely; the judge is all attention. Mr. Jinnah's voice has small volume. Its tone is low, but within its limited range it is surprisingly elastic. One moment it purrs persuasively. An interruption and it rasps.

The verbal persuasiveness he carries to the platform. I remember hearing him address a meeting in Bombay many years ago on "My Sins of Commission and Omission." He faced a

hostile audience when he began ; as he proceeded the heckling gathered strength. "If you don't wish to vote for me," said Mr. Jinnah, "don't vote for me. But listen to me." Gradually the cat-calls died down. When he finished the cheers were tumultuous. It was largely a triumph of personality, but in part too it was a verbal victory.

Much has happened since then. The political scene has changed, and with it many parties and personalities have found their loyalties divided. Allegiences have shifted. In Mr. Jinnah's case the metamorphosis is marked. "A progressive turned communalist" is how his opponents dub him. The accusation disturbs him not at all.

When I met him he spoke frankly on the communal question. "Time and again," he said, "we have offered Congress the hand of co-operation. Time and again it has been spurned. If the Muslim community is organising itself to-day, it is purely on defensive grounds. United we stand, divided we fall.

"And, after all, why should other communities criticise the Muslims for attempting to organise themselves ? We too have a place in India. And that place we are determined to hold. We have no designs on the other communities. All we ask is that the majority community should respect our rights and recognise our claims as equals to a voice in Indian affairs. That is only just—isn't it ?"

It seemed reasonable, and I said so.

He went on to talk of the Round Table Conference and of how near the two communities had come to agreement. "Congress," he remarked, "disclaims all association with the Hindu Mahasabha. Mr. Gandhi in London took up the position that if the Hindus and Muslims agreed, he had no objection, and provisionally he gave his support to the terms. Yet later he withdrew from it because Pandit Malaviya and his colleagues refused to agree." He shrugged his slim shoulders disdainfully.

Since then the position had deteriorated. "Under provincial autonomy," Mr. Jinnah explained, "the Congress Governments have ridden roughshod over Muslim opinion. In Bengal and the Punjab where Muslim majorities are in power Hindus have found a place in coalition Cabinets. In the Congress-governed provinces Muslims were called on to accept the creed, policy and programme of the Congress before being accepted in their Cabinets. Is that reciprocal treatment ?"

Perhaps he sensed the query in my eye. "I take my evidence as I find it," he said smiling. "As a lawyer I weigh the pros and cons. One must preserve a judicial mind on those matters."

There was one question I wanted badly to ask him and the moment seemed opportune. "There appears to be an idea, Mr. Jinnah, that the vast enthusiasm whipped up among the Muslims is being dissipated on negative activities. What has the Muslim League done on the constructive side—for the Muslim community?"

He paused for a moment before replying. "Don't forget," he said, "that we are a comparatively new body, at least as far as organisation goes. The Muslim League as such has existed for many years. As an organised all-India body it is barely two years old. And in that time we have been fighting so many battles on so many fronts. Give us time. Not that something is not being done even now. On my tours throughout India I am often astonished at the progress being made, in so many directions, mind you—especially economically and on the educational side. But give us time. In three or four years we hope to change the face of Muslim India. We have already infused it with a new spirit."

"And after that?" I asked him. "When you have achieved your aim of organising the Muslim community, making it strong and self-reliant, what then?"

"Then," said Mr. Jinnah, "the answer rests not only with the Hindu community but with the Muslims. We shall be strong and organised. We hope to live in peace. Never forget that the hand of co-operation we have offered to the majority community is there. But it is for them to accept it. Till then we Muslims must organise."

As I said good-bye in his friendly study with its rows of books lining the walls, I could not help recalling the drama of his crowded career. Mr. Jinnah has an enthusiasm and energy which many younger men must envy.

Tall, slim, immaculately dressed with keen, acquiline features, fast greying hair in which a white lock stands agressively like a proud plume, combining reserve with charm, he has still about him the air of a *beau sabreur* in politics.

There are some who accuse him of Curzonian hauteur. It is true he does not suffer fools gladly. But from his lonely eyrie—and one cannot escape the impression that he remains,

despite his following, a lonely man—Mr. Jinnah is far from being the exclusive recluse he is painted to be.

One of the last things he said before I rose to go concerned the so-called Untouchables. "Their lot," said Mr. Jinnah, "is truly tragic. To them justice has been denied and there are few they can call their friends. Their voice counts for little. That is why, in a sense, they are closer to me than my own Muslims. I have tried to do all I can for them—at the Round Table Conference and elsewhere. To better their lot I would do almost anything."

Hardly the remark of a haughty person.

[Times of India, *Bombay*, 10 *September* 1939]

An Eastern Genius Dressed by Saville Row

BY

BEVERLEY NICHOLS (Author of *Verdict on India*)

What will happen now that Jinnah is gone? Two things, I believe, we may take for granted. Firstly, Pakistan will be attacked, day in and day out, by its more powerful neighbour. By bribes, by threats, by every conceivable and inconceivable means India will endeavour to undermine it physically, morally and economically. Secondly, Pakistan will endure. It has come on the map because it had to come on the map, and on the map it will remain. For it is a great deal more than a geographical expression. It is the home of a nation and very great nation too—and the man who brought it into being will some day be recognised even by its former opponents as one of the supreme figures in the history of civilisation.

A few hours before Mr. Jinnah's death on Saturday I had received a letter from him dated 3 September in which he said, "You will be glad to know that there is nothing seriously the matter with me." And the signature was so shaky as to be almost illegible; it was very different from the firm legal script with which in 1944 he annotated the manuscript in which at may request he had fully elaborated for the first time the moral and material foundations of Pakistan. I wondered how long he could last and what would happen when he left.

He was an Eastern genius dressed by Saville Row. He had a mind as subtle as Gandhi's but whereas Gandhi met the sweltering heat of Bombay in a cotton shift Jinnah was invariably dressed in a lounge suit with a stiff, white collar and monocle dangling over his waist-coat. And of the two men he looked considerably cooler.

To visit him in his home at Malabar Hill—the only tolerably

cool quarter of Bombay—was to step from the East to the West. The drive was bordered by English flowers; the house was full of old oak; on the table in his study there was a silver box of English digestive biscuits and the latest copy of the *Times*. And the bookshelves were filled with an assortment of volumes that would not have disgraced the library of an English Lord Chancellor.

It was from these shelves that one day he took down a faded old volume *The Speeches of John Bright* and read from it a passage in which that great orator had startled the House of Commons just ninety years ago: "Does any man with the smallest glimmering of common sense believe that so great a country with its twenty different nations and twenty different languages can ever be bound up, and consolidated into one compact and enduring empire? I believe such a thing to be utterly impossible. We must fail in the attempt if we ever make it, and we are bound to look into the future with reference to that point. The Madras Presidency, for instance, having its own government, would in fifty years become one compact State, and every part of the Presidency would look to the city of Madras as its capital, and to the Government of Madras as its ruling power. If that were to go on for a century or more there would be five or six presidencies of India, built up into so many States, and if, at any future period, the sovereignty of English should be withdrawn we should have so many presidencies built up and firmly compacted together, each able to support its own independence and its own government, and we should be able to say we had not left the country a prey to that anarchy and discord which is to be inevitable if we insist on holding vast territories with the idea of building them up into one great Empire."

So did Jinnah. As he closed the book he said, "What Bright said then is even truer to-day, though, of course, the emphasis is not so much on the twenty nationalities as on the two—Muslim and Hindu." Looking me straight in the eye, he continued, "There is nothing in life that links us together. We are different beings."

"Can I quote it?

"It is your duty to quote it. Our names, our clothes, our food—they are all different; our economic life, our educational ideas, our treatment of women—we challenge each other at every point of the compass."

That was Jinnah's vital contribution to history which may be summed up in four words—"India does not exist." It never

has, and it never will. It was a myth created by the British, and only the presence of the British perpetuated that myth.

The blunt assertion was highly unpalatable to a great many people. British liberals hated it, because British liberals spent half their lives unifying—on paper—people who refused to be united. Hindus hated it even more.

A large number of followers of Gandhi were doubtless genuine idealists; and in the ranks of the more sophisticated University trained Hindus there were many who sincerely deplored religious fanaticism and who would have been glad to soft-pedal the two discordant creeds into a muted harmony. But Jinnah would have no truck with them. Did not the Hindus—he asked—outnumber the Muslims three to one? Had not they far more wealth, far more territory and far more business acumen? Was it not inevitable that if they won the day, if their claim of the "indivisibility of India" was accepted, they would soon be ruling the whole of that rich roost and bossing the Muslims out of existence? It was, to say the least of it, possible. And Jinnah had seen enough of what happened to Muslim minorities when they came under the hold of Hindu Big Business—that same Big Business which he always saw looming behind the shining saintly figure of Gandhi.

[Dawn, 21 *September* 1948]

He Towered Above All Rivals

BY

O. M. GREEN, *Dawn's* London Correspondent

The Quaid-i-Azam or Great Leader, as his followers called him, towered above all rivals. Nehru might have doubts and even Patel might hesitate between desire and expediency, Gandhi's leadership was marred by inexplicable mental somersaults which confused and disconcerted his devotees. Jinnah alone remained immovable on the point of Pakistan and the independence of the Muslim race. Tall, slim, straight as an arrow despite his years, white-haired, extremely handsome, he was idolised by his followers. *Dawn*, the chief Muslim newspaper, reported his daily movements like those of royalty. As a popular leader his immense power over the Muslim seemed to be enhanced by methods the exact opposite of those commonly used to get it.

Fastidious and aristocratic, perpetually wrapped in a mantle of impenetrable dignity, Jinnah discovered that Gandhi's idea of a free India meant Hindu domination over all his peoples. A rift opened between the Gongress and the League which rapidly widened, A final attempt to agree was made at an All-Parties Conference at Delhi[1] in 1928 and failed. A year later Mr. Jinnah came to the Round Table Conference in London an avowed advocate of Pakistan,[2] the Muslims' "Land of the Pure".

The principle of Pakistan had been voiced some years before by a poet Iqbal but as with the Muslim League it was Mr. Jinnah who made the demand for it a living force and an international reality. His cleverness as a parliamentarian and tactician, though free from any touch of craftiness, was never more brilliantly shown than in the tortuous months following the British Minister's visit to India early in 1946. Deeply affected though he was by the British Government's refusal to accept Muslim co-operation in

1. This Conference or Convention was held in Calcutta.
2. He became an avowed advocate of Pakistan in 1940,



The Quaid-i-Azam with members of the Working Committee of the Muslim League Branch in the Aligarh Muslim University. On the chairs (*L to R*) Dr. A. H. Siddiqui, Dr. M. B. Mirza, Dr. Moinul Haq, Dr. Abid Ahmad Ali, The Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. A. W. Kheiri, Dr. R. H. Siddiqui, Dr. Niaz Ahmad, Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad. Sitting on the floor third from left is Prof. Abdus Sattar Kheiri.

forming an Interim Government and spurning all the supposed acceptances by the Congress of British Plan of 16 May as a palpable deception which committed them to nothing, Mr. Jinnah lost no time in theatrical gestures like some who publicly tore off their British decorations. He held his ground with equal strength and skill until even Congress was sullenly forced to admit that there was no solution but Pakistan and Hindustan.

It is to Mr. Jinnah's credit that he could see that the principle of racialism* which was his creed must be applied in the division of Bengal and the Punjab and still more that on the creation of two Dominions he sent a message to the Muslims in the Indian Dominion enjoining on them never to forget their faith but also to remember that they were citizens of a new State and to support it loaylly. It is regrettable that a very different message went from the Congress to the Hindus in Pakistan.

Mr. Jinnah's disciples said that it was the Islamic spirit which fired him, the memories he had revived of Muslim conquerors who subdued all India and his rekindling of the essential nationality which binds all Muslims together in very land. When on 9 June 1947 he went to the League Council to put to it the British proposal for the formation of the two Dominions the Muslims in New Delhi thronged about him shouting "Long live the Emperor of Pakistan". In essence, if not in fact, it was a true word.

[Dawn, 15 *September* 1949]

*Racialism was not Mr. Jinnah's creed. His creed was the concept that the Muslims of India constituted a nation on the basis of faith and ideology and as such they must have their homelands in regions of their majority.

Quaid-i-Azam was Kind to Academicians

BY

KAZI SAIDUDDIN AHMAD

[Dr. Kazi Saiduddin Ahmad is Head of the Department of Geography in the University of the Punjab, Formerly he was Reader in Geography in the Aligarh Muslim University. He is an eminent scholar of Geography and has represented Pakistan at several international Science Conferences. He assisted the Muslim League representatives in presenting the Muslim case before the Punjab Boundary Commission in 1947.]

During the twenty-five years of my stay at Aligarh, I had the honour and privilege of meeting the Quaid-i-Azam on many occasions both as a student and as a member of the teaching staff. After my return from England in 1939 I became closely associated with the Muslim League in academic capacity in its struggle for independence. I was one of the five members* of the Committe of Writers set up by the League to project the concept of Pakistan and counter the propaganda against it.

In 1924 the Quaid-i-Azam paid a visit to the University. As he was returning from Aligarh to Delhi I got into the same compartment of the train with him as I too was going to Delhi. The Quaid-i-Azam inquired about the subject I was studying. On learning that Economics was one of my subjects for B.A., he expressed a feeling of disappointment concerning Dr. L.K. Hyder who was Professor of Economics at the University. The Quaid-i-Azam said that he was surprised at the change that had taken place in him. He said that Dr. Hyder had been sent to Germany for higher education by the Trustees of the M. A. O. College.

*The other members of the Committee were Mian Bashir Ahmad, Editor, *Humayun*, Lahore, Syed Hasan Riaz, Editor, *Manshoor*, Delhi, Mr. Ahmad Shafi and Mr. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, Lecturer, Department of English in the Aligarh Muslim University and Convener of the Committee.

While in that country he held strong views against the Government, so much so that he was not allowed to come back during World War I. The Quaid-i-Azam said that he led a deputation of the Trustees to the Viceroy to secure his permission for Dr. Hyder's return to India so that the College which had paid for his training abroad was not deprived of his services. After joining the staff of the College Dr. Hyder was elected to the Central Legislative Assembly with the help of the students. The Quaid-i-Azam complained that he had taken a complete somersault and was one of the few elected members who were always voting with the Government, irrespective of the merits of the issue. The Quaid-i-Azam said that he would not have minded it at all if Dr. Hyder had voted with the Government on some individual issue if he conscientiously believed Government's stand to be right.

On another occasion when I was a student of M.A. in Geography the Quaid-i-Azam addressed a meeting of the students and the staff in the Siddons Union Club. My professor, Major E. W. Dann, and I also attended that lecture. Major Dann was himself a very good speaker and he used to take elocution classes. After the lecture he told me that in Mr. Jinnah he had found one person who knew how to speak English and how to dress properly.

While working for the League in the early forties I prepared a plan for the partition of India in which I had visualised a Commonwealth of India consisting of five autonomous States with common citizenship and customs union. When I showed that plan to the Quaid-i-Azam he said, "My boy, give it to me, I will consider it, but we should not lose anything from it. You are a member of the Committee of Writers of the League and if published by you it would be considered to be a proposal from the League, and we might lose something from it by way of compromise." When I spoke to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan about it he told me that it was a good plan which should be published. He asked me to put in the pamphlet a line that it was my proposal and did not reflect the official views of the Muslim League. This was accordingly done.

The Quaid-i-Azam, as I could see him, was a person of indomitable courage, determination and tenacity of purpose. The politicians in the League, excepting a few, stood in awe of him, although he allowed full freedom of discussion in Councils and Committees. But we, the academicians in Aligarh with no political aspirations, could discuss all matters with him freely and frankly. And he was very kind to have discussions with us in a most affectionate way which encouraged us in our work. May God bless him.

Quaid-i-Azam and Aligarh

BY

DR. SYED ABID AHMAD ALI

[Dr. Syed Abid Ahmad Ali is a scion of the house of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. He had a brilliant academic career, taking the M.A. and D Phil degrees from the Universities of Aligarh and Oxford, respectively. He served as Reader in Arabic at the Muslim University, Aligarh. He played a pioneering part in countering anti-Islamic ideas and forces and organising the Muslim League movement at Aligarh. In Pakistan he served as Principal, Government College, Sargodha, and is now Reader in Islamic Studies in the University of the Panjab.]

My earliest reminiscence of the Quaid-i-Azam goes back to the year 1925 when he came to Aligarh on the occasion of the Jubilee celebrations of the Muslim University. People from all over India came—from Peshawar to Madras and from Bombay to Orissa—for the all-India Muslim educational institution founded by the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had exercised such a hold on the minds of the Muslims of India as no other educational institution had ever done. Aligarh had spread all over India "like the banyan of the soil". In every nook and corner of the remotest parts of India there were alumini and loyal sons of Aligarh, and students flocked to its portals in ever-increasing numbers. The Muslim University was, as Sir Syed Ross Masood aptly put it, "the symbol of the combined efforts of the Muslims of India over half a century." A huge *pandal* was erected for these celebrations, which, furnished and decorated at the special instructions of Her Highness Begum of Bhopal, the Chancellor, looked so grand and impressive. At one end of it was, of course, the big beautifully decorated dais from where the cream of the Muslim intelligentsia and the most eminent Mussalmans addressed the assembled Muslims numbering over 20,000. It was on this dais that I first saw the Quaid-i-Azam, till then plain Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

The Muslim University Union, a unique institution among all the colleges and universities of India, had arranged a debate; and the topic for discussion was whether joint electorates or separate electorates suited the Muslims living in the midst of a Hindu majority. Among the visitor speakers were such eminent persons as Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Sir Ali Imam, etc., all veteran speakers. When Ali Imam and Mohammad Ali had spoken supporting the system of joint electorates for the Muslims, Mr. Jinnah rose to speak and vehemently opposed the very idea of joint electorates and condemned it as most harmful for the Muslims in the strongest terms. All the time he spoke calmly but forcefully, arguing every point logically ; but in the midst of his speech he was interrupted by Maulana Mohammad Ali saying, "We cannot understand you." Mr. Jinnah got infuriated at the interruption and roared like a lion saying, "If you cannot understand, I cannot give you understanding." I still remember that roar of his, and we all were struck by the boldness of Mr. Jinnah, for till then the Ali Brothers were heroes in the eyes of the Aligarh students. Afterwards when I had numerous occasions to listen to his speeches, I came to know that that was the way of the Quaid-i-Azam whenever he was unnecessarily interrupted or whenever something illogical or irrelevant was said to him.

Quite a long time elapsed before I saw him again in Aligarh. In 1930, he along with his sister Miss Fatima Jinnah paid a visit to the University and stayed with Syed Ross Masood, the then Vice-Chancellor, at whose invitation they had come. The forum for all important visitors was the Aligarh Union, for it was through this forum that a speaker, if he was worth anything, could reach the Muslim mind and win the hearts of the Muslim youth. To quote Syed Ross Masood again, "In entering the portals of the Muslim University you have entered the heart of Muslim India." Therefore, every sensible person entered the precincts of the University reverently as on a sacred ground. It was from the platform of the Aligarh Uniont hat Mr. Jinnah addressed the staff and students of the University, and I believe he not only cast a spell on the minds of the Aligarh youth (and older people) by a clear logical expression of his views, but also touched their hearts by his downright sincerity. Of course, his smart, spruce appearance and his gestures, restrained yet fascinating, must have made a deep impression on the intelligent and cultured students of the University.

If I remember rightly, it was in 1931 that we all in Aligarh were surprised and shocked to hear that Mr. Jinnah had left India and gone over to England. In 1934 I too went to Oxford for

advanced studies. Whenever I heard about him there it was only to the effect that he was a great success at the Privy Council, and that he took a keen interest in the welfare of the Muslim students studying in England, especially London.

On my return from England in the beginning of 1936 it was a great news for me to learn that Mr. Jinnah had returned to India and was resurrecting the Muslim League, and that it was going to be the only political organisation of the Muslims. The Muslims had awakened to the realisation of their identity and destiny by the magic wand of the leader whom all Muslims, faced by two mortal enemies, had accepted not only as their leader, but their saviour. After the historic Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League, the Quaid-i-Azam launched the Muslim mass movement by organising League branches in every village and *mohalla* of the cities all over India from north to south and east to west.

A branch of the Muslim League was also formed in the University, known as the Muslim University Area Muslim League, which, though sponsored by a very few but zealous and sincere members of the staff of the University and supported by students, grew in importance and prestige in course of a very short time; for it was from the platform of this branch of the League and through the wholehearted devotion of its first members that the Quaid-i-Azam in fact initiated the campaign for the establishment of Pakistan.

Here it would be very unfair if a brief mention were not made of the few but for whose courage and earnestness the Muslim University Muslim League would not have come into existence and Aligarh would not have played the great role that it did in the creation of Pakistan. Aligarh had always been the microcosm of Muslim India and in it were reflected the views and opinions of the Muslims. Before the Quaid-i-Azam started his mass campaign for the Muslim League and the revitalisation of the Muslim masses, a show of adherence, at least lip-service, to the Congress and Communism was the fashion of the day in the Muslim University both among the senior staff, the "big guns" of the University, and the elite of the students; and a very systematic propaganda was made on behalf of both. No one was prepared and no one dared to raise a voice on behalf of the Muslim League or the Muslims or even Islam. The idea of the Muslims as a separate nation was dismissed as ridiculous or a mad dream. It was in such circumstances that the courageous few organised the University branch of the Muslim League after the Lucknow Session in 1937. They braved all manner of discouragement and harassment, taunt, ridicule, humiliation, intrigue, and even

threats—but they did not flinch in their efforts.

Professor Abdus Sattar Khairi was the inspiring spirit who gathered a few of the staff and the students and established the Muslim University Muslim League. Professor Khairi, along with his elder brother, had spent about twenty years in Beyrout, Istanbul, and finally settled in Germany. They were ardent Muslims and men of ideas, and wherever they went they served the cause of Islam. In Beyrout they started the Muslim Boy Scout movement which they called *kashshaf* (explorer). It is still known there by the name they gave to it. In Germany they established an Islamic Society. It was during their stay in Germany that they propounded the theory of a separate Muslim homeland in India. They put the proposal for a separate Muslim homeland at the Socialist International Conference at Stockholm in 1917.

According to a tradition of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) Islam began in a humble way. So the Muslim University Muslim League began in a humble way, but just as Islam grew in strength rapidly, so the University League grew in strength and stature. The small band of the first soldiers of Pakistan who founded the University League consisted of not more than five ardent Muslims. Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad, Professor Umaruddin, Dr. Baber Mirza and the writer of these reminiscences were the soldiers and formed, along with some student members, the nucleus and the Working Committee of the Muslim University Muslim League. Mr. Jamiluddin was later elected a member of the All-India Muslim League Council and contributed a great deal in the deliberations and the drafting of the resolutions and the addresses that were afterwards given to the Quaid-i-Azam on behalf of the Muslim University Muslim League. The writer of this article was President of the University League during its formative period, during which the preliminary spadework was done that ultimately resulted in the establishment of Pakistan.

Besides doing the general organisational work as directed by the All-India Muslim League the Muslim University Musilm League set before itself a twofold task : (1) to persuade the Quaid-i-Azam to make the Muslim University the base of the movement, and (2) to devise and propagate the slogan: "Muslims are a nation of 90,000,000 (ninety million) and not a minority. They first put in the hands of the Quaid-i-Azam a very effective and powerful propaganda machinery. Aligarh students spread all over India carrying the message of the Quaid-i-Azam to all its corners. The second changed the very fabric of Muslim mentality. Whereas they were formerly content to be styled a minority with a very precarious status, with political safeguards at the very best, and

that at the hands of a very undependable treacherous majority, now they were "a nation of ninety million Muslims," with the vision of an independent State galvanising them into action after an inertia of a century. "Man, woman and child" (the Quaid-i-Azam's favourite phrase) responded to this call and did become "a nation of ninety million Muslims." Which nation was greater in Europe? The Muslims suddenly realised that they differed in everything from their Hindu compatriots, in history, heroes, traditions, customs, culture and religion. How could the Muslims form one State with the idolatrous and caste-ridden Hindus? It was this dream made realisable by the masterful personality of the Quaid-i-Azam that awoke the Muslims of the sub-continent from their slumber and the illusion of being able to live with the Hindus as a nation.

It was during a visit of the Quaid-i-Azam to Aligarh in 1938 that, while discussing the question of the organisation of the Muslim League, we suggested to him to make Aligarh his platform and the centre of his movement. His first answer was the usual one that every politician gave to the students, i.e. they should keep aloof from active politics. But when we explained to him the urgency of the cause and the role that Aligarh could play, he, at once accepted the idea. It was one of his characteristics that it took him only a few minutes to see the right or wrong of a thing. His mind was so acute and quick that he saw the truth of a thing, as it were, in a flash. And he did make Aligarh his platform, and the world has seen the result of that decision. From it he preached the gospel of Pakistan and organised the Muslim youth who propagated this gospel wherever they went; and when time came, they went election-campaigning to the deserts of Sind, the plains of the Punjab, N.-W.F. Province (the stronghold of the Congressite Pathans), in short, to every nook and corner of the sub-continent. The part they played in the election campaign won for the Muslim League the victory that paved the way for the attainment of Pakistan.

That visit of the Quaid-i-Azam was probably exploratory. The next year he came to Aligarh as a general returns to his headquarters to take stock of things and make plans for the future. In the meantime, the Muslim University Muslim League, which he afterwards called his child, had developed and all but a few of the staff and almost all the students had got themselves enrolled as its members. Of the few that could not see eye to eye with the League a section adopted the posture of benevolent neutrality, but the other section created all sorts of difficulties and put obstacles in the way of the sincere workers of the League.

Naturally the few pioneer workers of the League bore the brunt of their attacks and persecutions, for they were still the "big guns" in the University. The situation, however, changed with the election as Vice-Chancellor of University Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad who was Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly.

On this occasion, the Quaid-i-Azam addressed the students and the staff and others who had come from outside Aligarh to hear him in the Strachey Hall (the University Hall). He made a very lucid speech, reviewing the events of the past few years and explaining his plans for the future.

Throughout the speech he remained calm and logical (he never adopted the method of haranguing of the general run of political leaders), supporting every point of his with irrefutable arguments and giving a reason for everything he propounded. However, it seemed that throughout he was conscious of the yet depressed and uncertain mood of the Muslims in general and the Muslim intelligentsia in particular. It was probably to dispel this gloom that towards the end of the speech he raised his voice to a very high pitch and declared, "We have now forged our own charter, the Charter of Pakistan." These forceful words still ring in all their clarity in my ears. This speech proved to be the panacea for the depression and the apathy and scepticism, the maladies from which the Muslim mind was till then suffering.

After this visit the Quaid-i-Azam visited Aligarh every year, calling every visit of his "my annual pilgrimage to Aligarh". These visits continued till a year before the Partition when he became too busy with the elections. As during his first visit, he would (this became the pattern of his annual speeches at Aligarh) review the events of the past year and expose the machinations and intrigues of the Hindus and the Hindu Congress, and would explain his programme for the ensuing year. The world had come to know of the importance of the Quaid-i-Azam's visits to Aligarh and all the news agencies would send their correspondents to take notes of what he said. In one of his speeches he called Aligarh "the arsenal of Muslim India" and the Aligarh students "its best soldiers".

The Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League (December 1938) was a thundering success for the League, and perhaps it was for the first time that the Muslims became so united and organised and realised their individuality and full stature as a nation. The Quaid-i-Azam dominated the scene and looked like

a tower, a lighthouse showing light to a benighted people and beckoning them to a safe *terra firma*. He spoke both in English and Urdu. He, of course, had a wonderful command over the English language, but was equally effective in his Urdu speech as every word he uttered came from the depths of his heart. At Patna he also reviewed the Muslim League National Guards that had come from various provinces; one was from Bombay trained by Mr. Mahmood Ispahani, another from Karachi trained by Mr. Yousuf Haroon. The Aligarh National Guard trained under the personal supervision of the writer of this article was declared the best. Who could compete with Aligarh boys? The Quaid-i-Azam was pleased and Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani entertained the whole National Guards, so strong and looking so smart in their green shirts and khaki trousers, to a sumptuous tea. Lest some of those who rendered service to the cause of the League in various capacities, however small, but timely, be forgotten, I would like to mention the names of two persons who actually trained the Aligarh National Guard (a very arduous task), viz. Abdul Aziz and Shamim Ansari (both Aligarh students); the latter is now a very senior officer in the Pakistan Army.

It was at the Patna Session that the new *iarana* of the League مسلم ہے تو مسلم لیگ میں آ was sung before the Quaid-i-Azam who liked it immensely—so much so that on many other occasions afterwards he would express his wish to hear it. He would nod and beat time whenever it was sung. It was a moving appeal, couched in simple words, to all Muslims to join the Muslim League and fall in line and close up the ranks. Anything that contributed to the achievement of the ideals of the League was greatly appreciated by the Quaid-i-Azam. It was also at the Patna Session that Professor Khairi distributed leaflets propounding the two-nation concept which became ultimately the basis for the creation of Pakistan. The two-nation concept and the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslims were afterwards more clearly expounded in an open letter addressed by the President of the Muslim University Muslim League to the councillors of the All-India Muslim League in July 1938—two years before this creed was officially adopted by the League at the Lahore Session in 1940.

The Quaid-i-Azam felt very much at home at Aligarh and enjoyed every moment of the time he spent there, addressing students and staff in the University, and huge public gatherings in the city, receiving deputations and groups of students and his own special workers of the Muslim University Muslim League, posing for group photographs, and attending dinners and at-

homes. He used to have a very busy time at Aligarh. The University League would always provide a body-guard for him from among the students, of course) wherever he went with drawn swords; and what devoted guards they were! In fact, every student of the University was prepared to lay down his life for the great leader, for he was not held in great esteem only as a great man, but the joy they felt in his presence was what a son feels in the presence of the revered head of the family. Indeed, the Quaid-i-Azam had restored to them the soul they had lost, and by extricating them from the slough of despond to the height of nationhood, conjured up before them the life-giving prospect of an independent State of their own. The gloomy state prevailing in the University and, for that matter, among all the Muslims is very well described in an address that was presented to the Quaid-i-Azam in March 1940 by the Muslim University Muslim League: "The atmosphere then prevalent in the University was none too encouraging. Forces inimical to the Muslim League and, in fact, to any movement for the separate organisation of the Mussalmans and the preservation of their identity and interest, held sway in the University. Many of us were indifferent and apathetic; the politically-conscious among us were hypnotised by the attractive slogans and shibboleths bandied about by anti-Islamic organisations and bodies. It was an uphill task to bring about a wholesome change in the atmosphere of the University surcharged with the insidious and poisonous machinations of Congress and Communist agencies which aimed at subverting the loyalty of the Muslim youth to Islam and weaning them away from their cultural and social heritage." It was really an herculean task that the Quaid-i-Azam performed in resuscitating millions of the despondent Muslims of India.

The most outstanding characteristics of the Quaid-i-Azam were his level-headedness, unflinching courage, devotion to a cause, unimpeachable integrity of character and cool, calculating, logical mind. These qualities naturally made him often look stern and emotionless, but beneath this apparently cold facade, he had a warm sympathetic heart in his breast. When some of the Aligarh students were persecuted by the "big guns" still in power in the University, they always received sympathy, sometimes in substantial form, from the Quaid-i-Azam. I remember one incident that suddenly awakened me to a realisation of this trait in him. The sons of the late Pir of Pagaro had been sent to Aligarh to receive their education, and, I came to know that they were neither receiving sympathetic treatment nor sufficient money for their needs from the Government of Sind. During one of the Quaid-i-Azam's visits to Aligarh, I went up to

him and spoke to him about their plight. He was visibly moved and asked me to hand him a note-book that was lying on a table near me. He jotted down something in it, muttering, "I will speak to Gazdar." I did not know what Mr. Gazdar had to do with the problem, nor did he explain to me anything. But some time later it was noticed that the sons of the Pir of Pagaro were being well looked after. I realised that he was human to the core. He would later, when he had realised the sincerity and selflessness of the Muslim University Muslim League workers, especially members of the Working Committee, embrace each one of them saying, "These are my own men." And, indeed they were sincere, selfless workers, never expecting any reward for the great service they rendered to the cause of Pakistan. But for the role Aligarh played in the struggle for Pakistan, it is doubtful whether the Muslims would have achieved their homeland.

In the language of the Quran the greatest favour that Allah bestows on a people is to give them freedom and make them rulers. Thus, the birth of Pakistan was for the Muslims of this sub-continent the greatest favour that Allah bestowed upon them, and the Quaid-i-Azam, the instrument in His hands to fulfil His purpose, was their greatest benefactor. He was a great believer in Islam, and he envisaged an Islamic State where Muslims would have opportunities to shape their lives according to the principles of Islam. The Islamic State he created was the fulfilment of the dream that Allama Iqbal had dreamed and the culmination of the work of regeneration of the Muslims that the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had started. The task before the people of Pakistan, therefore, is that they should go back to the fountainhead, and, inspired and generated, march forward and show the benighted world the light of true Islam.

A Disciple Remembers the Master

BY

JAMIL-UD-DIN AHMAD

Does it lie with an insignificant individual to reminisce about the personality of a man who ranks among the greatest figures of history? In the case of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah it does. For, he set a standard of character and moral conduct which is different from the one which, in popular view, usually goes to constitute greatness. He battled against the proud and the haughty, against those who sought to tyrannise over the weak and the oppressed and he humbled their pride. But to the common man who sought light and guidance, to the silent unassuming workers he was the soul of courtesy and kindness. When the horizon was dark and everything seemed to be going wrong, the Quaid-i-Azam with his spirit undaunted and his vision unclouded would cheer you up with his ineffable smile and a few encouraging words. You would feel rather ashamed of having allowed the feeling of despair to enter your heart for a single moment and your faith in the justice of your cause and your ability to face up to any crisis would be as bright as ever.

When such are the ties binding the leader to his people is it any wonder that an obscure individual who had the privilege of receiving inspiration, guidance and support from the leader should venture to give a few reminiscences and glimpses of the glory that shall, Insha Allah, always live.

Even in my boyhood I had heard a great deal about Mr. Jinnah. In those days he was *persona grata* of the entire Indian intelligentsia. The impression that I gathered about him from hearsay was that he was a handsome, elegant, well-dressed gentleman, an able advocate, and an eloquent speaker, a true patriot working for a genuine Hindu-Muslim understanding and, above all, a man of upright and independent character who could stand up to any Englishman and deal with him on equal footing—a great thing in those days !

I would now mention some scenes and events of personal observation which throw light on the manifold aspects of his masterful personality. As I have stated, Mr. Jinnah was always a hot favourite with the intelligentsia, particularly the Aligarh youth. The first glimpse I had of Mr. Jinnah was on the occasion of the fifty-year Jubilee of the Aligarh Muslim University in 1925. He was invited to act as a judge in the All-India Inter-University Competitive Debate held under the auspices of the University Union on the occasion of the Jubilee. Craning my neck forward from the gallery of the Rampur Hamid Hall like hundreds of other eager youths, I caught sight of the man who was destined to be the Saviour of Muslim India. Tall, handsome and spruce, he captured the hearts of the keen, boisterous youth of Aligarh by his well-groomed, fascinating figure, his winsome mien, his deep resonant voice and his genial *bonhomie*. He was drawing closer to Aligarh, for he had realised from experience of the Congress and Hindu leaders that there was no hope for Hindu-Muslim settlement and for Indian freedom unless the Muslims became an organised force.

There was a gap of five years. It was the time of Lord Irwin (after Lord Halifax). He had made an announcement declaring dominion status to be the goal of British policy in India and proposing a Round Table Conference of British and Indian delegates to formulate proposals for constitutional advance which would be laid before Parliament for its approval. This announcement had led to a keen controversy in Indian political circles. One school of thought represented by Mr. Jinnah, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad and others favoured acceptance of the offer of Round Table Conference; the Congress stood for outright rejection, though, as was always their wont, they participated in the Conference a year later. The University Union at Aligarh being a live, progressive body had a practice of debating the burning topics of the day and inviting leading public figures to take part in these debates. A full-dress debate on the advisability or otherwise of accepting the Round Table Conference proposal was arranged. Mr. Jinnah was especially invited to speak on the occasion.

It was a cold night of January 1930, when an eager, expectant crowd of students and members of the staff gathered in the Rampur Hamid Hall to listen to the momentous debate. Aligarh in those days had a unique position ; its voice had a powerful effect on public opinion. In fact, it was an Englishman, Mr. E. A. Horne, then Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University, who remarked, "What Aligarh speaks to-day India will speak tomorrow".

The debates in the Aligarh Union had an air of reality about them. Before the debate and in course of it the opinion of young 'Varsity men was strongly in favour of rejection of the offer. The extreme view always makes a powerful appeal to the youth. Impassioned and emotional speeches were made by many budding orators, pouring forth vials of wrath on British imperialism and advocating rejection of the Round Table idea. The atmosphere was surcharged with strong patriotic passions and those who knew the Aligarh audience of those days can understand what uncommon courage a speaker had to have to face such an audience and speak against the prevailing view. When the young hopefuls had exhausted their breath Mr. Jinnah took the floor on the unpopular side, namely, acceptance of the offer.

It is now more than thirty-six years since the debate took place, but I still have a distinct picture in my mind of Mr. Jinnah as he stood on the dais facing a highly critical audience bubbling with enthusiasm. Immaculately attired in evening dress, his smooth hair, half black and half grey, beautifully brushed back, his monocle shining brightly, one of his hands in the pocket of his trousers and the fingers of the other turning slightly to reinforce his arguments, he instantly gripped the attention of the youthful audience by his confident manner, graceful deportment, and deep cultivated voice with its rich timbre and measured intonation. Not a loose word escaped his lips. The train of his thought kept perfect space with the flow of his expression. He spoke a language which, though simple, clear, crisp and precise, yet had a ring of grandeur at times, when he laid emphasis on a particular point of vantage and finished the argument with a dexterous flourish. His tone with its musical and resonant ring charmed and moved the audience to their depths. It seemed as if a speaker of the calibre of Lord Rosebery of Earl Grey had come from the House of Lords to take part in the debate. Such ease, such grace, such command of the English idiom and accent and the English parliamentary style was an object of marvel to Englishmen themselves.

Some enthusiasts tried once or twice to heckle him but they found more than a match in him, for he was a pastmaster in the art of repartee. They were silenced by his quick, brilliant retorts which, however, were free from any trace of acrimony. Besides the powerful appeal of his voice and manner, his reasoning was so cogent, his logic so relentless, his marshalling of facts and arguments so effective that the doubts, prejudices and predilections of the audience began to melt away one by one. They were convinced that when the British threw a challenge to Indian

statesmanship it would not do to shrink from it. The only sensible course was to take the British at their word, put forward agreed proposals and thus put the British on their trial before the bar of world opinion. By the time Mr. Jinnah had finished his characteristically forceful but eloquent speech a miracle had happened. When the vote was taken it was discovered that Mr. Jinnah had succeeded, by sheer dint of irresistible logic and sweet reasonableness, in converting the vast majority to his viewpoint. The House voted overwhelmingly in favour of the proposition accepting the Round Table Conference offer. It was a real personal triumph for Mr. Jinnah.

There was an interregnum of about five years, for Mr. Jinnah practically left India after the first Round Table Conference had been held in the winter of 1930 and decided temporarily to settle down in London where he started legal practice before the Privy Council. He had been led to make this serious decision by some very distressing circumstances. He had worked harder than anyone else to bring about a genuine Hindu-Muslim *rapprochement*, but all his efforts came to naught. The extreme intransigence of the Hindu leaders even in the foreign land completely dismayed him. All his powers of reasoning and persuasion had failed to produce the slightest change in the Hindu mentality. The Muslim leaders of that time, mostly careerists and self-seekers, would not listen to his advice. Frustrated and depressed, he made up his mind to settle in London and do what he could to help his country from there. The reason why he reversed this decision about four years later and returned post-haste to India after the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935 was disclosed by him in the course of a very revealing conversation. I had called on him to settle details of the programme of his visit to Aligarh. It was just a month before the historic Lahore Session of the Muslim League in 1940.

I found Mr. Jinnah discussing Punjab Muslim League affairs with Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan and another gentleman from the Punjab. As the conversation switched on to the general condition of Muslim India, Mr. Jinnah mentioned how he had to change his mind to leave England and return to India in 1935. He never lost touch with affairs in India and he was keenly watching the trend of events. Living in England while the 1935 Act was on the anvil in Parliament he, as an astute politician and shrewd judge of constitutional developments, realised better than any other Muslim leader that the introduction of the Provincial part of the Act, based as it was on the principle of numerical majority rule, would put the Muslims in a most perilous position;

and if, later on, Federal part too were enforced their fate would be sealed. Unless they bestirred themselves quickly they would be lost for ever. The more Mr. Jinnah thought of the impending calamity, the greater was his distress and anguish. Meantime elections to the Central Assembly were coming off in the autumn of 1934. The Muslim leaders of Bombay were sending him frantic messages imploring him to come back and agree to his election from Bombay city—his old constituency—to the Assembly. The Muslim leaders from other provinces were also pressing him to return and lead the Muslims in the critical times that lay ahead. He felt as if his people were crying out to him and it was like a "call of blood". Mr. Jinnah could not tarry longer. He responded to the call and gave his consent for election. He was elected unopposed to the Assembly and soon after returned to India to take up the task of organising the Muslims.

The period 1935-37 was, in certain respects, the worst that the Muslims of the sub-continent ever faced. It is not easy to describe it. I would refer to it very briefly in order to show the stupendous nature of the task Mr. Jinnah took upon himself and the dangers he braved in his old age. The British Government had decided to introduce Provincial Autonomy straightway, to be followed, at a later stage, by an All-India Federation after certain conditions had been complied with. Despite certain limitations, the Provincial part of the Act was going to confer a substantial measure of power on the Hindus in the majority of provinces. The Muslims could take no advantage of their majority in the Provinces because of their disorganisation and dissensions. The Hindus, through the Congress, were fully prepared to derive the maximum benefit from this dispensation. They kept up a show of opposing and wrecking the Act, but when the time came they gleefully plumped for the Ministries and worked the Act to their best advantage. Of course, they took care, by tactics of bluff and bluster to circumvent the special powers of the Governor and the safeguards provided for the minorities. The organisational strength of the Congress, built up over a period of fifty years to which the Muslims at one time had made a magnificent contribution, was formidable. What with the backing of finance, press and propaganda machinery, the Congress swept the polls in Hindu constituencies and found some willing stooges among the Muslims ready to sell their honour for a mess of pottage.

The plight of the Muslims on the other hand beggars description. They were prey to every conceivable disease that results from want of a national purpose, a clear-cut political ideology, policy and programme. Divided and demoralised, they were the

No Man's Land which anyone could use as a happy hunting ground. To put it figuratively, they were like a ship, rudderless, captainless, and trackless, hurled from one trough of misery to another. Their condition, briefly, may be summed up as one of political sycophancy. The British rulers thought the Muslims were in their pocket. There were title-hunters and job-seekers galore among the Muslims who kept the British assured on this score. The Congress, intoxicated with its organisational might and newly-won political power, looked down on the Muslims with supreme disdain and felt that they could be managed through their Muslim stooges whose number was increasing and also by resort to the familiar tactics of Divide and Rule which they had learnt from their British masters.

It was at this hour of bleak despair and dark foreboding for the Muslims that Mr. Jinnah stood, as if inspired by Divine Power, and sounded a clarion call to the Muslims. The Bombay Session of the Muslim League held in 1936 charged Mr. Jinnah with the herculean task of organising the Muslims as a separate party to contest elections to the Provincial legislatures all over India. He accepted the responsibility, though odds were against him. It was for the first time in their political history in the sub-continent that they were contesting elections as an organised party. He went from province to province, from remote Assam to the far-flung N.-W.F.P., urging the Muslims to realise the danger they were faced with, to close up their ranks, to rally under one banner, to organise and fight the elections as one party with a single, uniform all-India policy. But they were so demoralised and supine, their outlook had become so narrow, parochial and selfish that they could see no advantage in liquidating their local coteries and factions and presenting a united front on an all-India basis. Mr. Jinnah did not meet with encouraging response except in the Muslim minority provinces where the League won 60 to 70 % of the seated contested, and to some extent in Bengal where it won one third of the Muslim seats. The majority provinces, particularly, gave him the cold shoulder. The Bengalis were largely under the spell of the Krishak Proja; the Punjabis were beguiled completely by the Unionist fraud; the Pathans of the Frontier bamboozled by the Congress ruse; the Sindhis hopelessly divided.

The affronts and rebuffs offered to Mr. Jinnah by the Muslim stooges of the British and the Congress were enough to dampen the enthusiasm and break the spirit of the stoutest man. But Mr. Jinnah was made of different mettle. He persisted with superhuman strength of will and determination. After the Congress had captured power in the provinces by entering into unholy alli-

ance with the representatives of British imperialism, called the Gentlemen's Agreement, the stormy-petrel of the Congress, Mr. Jawahar Lal Nehru, roared, "There are only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British Government. Others must line up." Mr. Jinnah calmly replied that there was a third party—the Muslim League. He was as good as his word; within two years he proved that the League was a force to be reckoned with.

During the elections of 1937 the Congress did not oppose Muslim League candidates, for they were not quite sure of capturing as large a majority as they eventually did, and they thought they would need the League's support. Also, on the general matters affecting the welfare of the people, the programme of the two parties had much in common. But when the Congress had won a surprisingly large majority of seats they lost their balance of mind. They League became anathema to them. The very existence of minorities and any such thing as Muslim culture was denied. The Congress developed totalitarian tendencies. A virulent campaign was launched to establish the dictatorship of the Congress caucus over the entire sub-continent.

As last the Muslims awoke. The prospect of being reduced to serfdom under a people whom they had ruled for well-nigh eight hundred years stared the Muslims in the face. Their sense of pride was hurt which is the first sure sign of regeneration of a people. This national resurgence found its expression in the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League held in October 1937 which marked the beginning of the revolutionary phase of the League as a live, fighting, mass organisation of the Mussalmans of India. I would relate a few incidents in this connection to show how Mr. Jinnah who had so far been a parliamentarian and a leader of the intelligentsia adapted himself to the changed situation and took charge of the mass leadership of the Mussalmans with amazing confidence and skill.

Mr. Jinnah was on his way from Bombay to Lucknow to preside over the session of the Muslim League. As the train steamed into the railway station at Cawnpore a vast crowd of Muslims mobbed his compartment. They voiced their resolve to fight and die at a signal from Mr. Jinnah. So exuberant was their enthusiasm and so fiery their determination to resist Hindu aggression that Mr. Jinnah, otherwise calm and imperturbable, was visibly moved. It was impossible for me to push my way through the surging crowd. Standing precariously on a railing on the platform, I saw Mr. Jinnah looking out of the window and waving to the crowd to listen to him. There was instant silence. His face wore a look of grim determination coupled with satisfaction that his people

were aroused at last. He spoke a few soothing words to pacify their inflamed passions. Many Muslims, overcome by emotion, wept tears of joy to see their leader who, they felt sure, would fight for their rights.

The next day I was in Lucknow to listen to Mr. Jinnah's soul-stirring presidential speech at that truly historic session, for history was made at Lucknow. This was the first time I saw Mr. Jinnah in national costume. His elegant sartorial taste was reflected in these clothes also. He appeared in a light brown Sherwani and white "Aurebi" Lucknow pyjamas with a black astrakhan cap* beautifully tilted on one side of his head. The address he delivered on the occasion will go down in history as a masterpiece of oratory. For searching analysis, incisive criticism, irrefutable logic, forensic eloquence, and robust tone of self-confidence, courage and optimism, the speech stood without a rival. He tore to shreds the Congress pretensions of nationalism and of being representative of all India, he pricked the bubble of Congress professions of love, of democracy and freedom and ruthlessly exposed the fallacy of their arguments and the inconsistency between their professions and practices. His moving appeal to the Mussalmans to steer clear of Congress machinations and shibboleths, to shed all inferiority complex and to recapture their souls worked like magic.

We see Mr. Jinnah next in February 1938 on the occasion of his visit to Aligarh after the commencement of the new phase of his leadership. He had by this time got used to processions and meetings consisting of thousands and even lakhs of people. It seemed as if he had a rich reserve of latent qualities and energies which were coming into play at the right moment. He showed amazing grasp of the mass mind and impulse as well as shrewd insight into political moves and diplomatic manoeuvres. Somehow he always knew, as if by intuition, the psychological moments in the political life of the country. His patience was inexhaustible and he could wait for the right moment. But when the time came he struck and struck hard with unerring agility and precision. A lesser man in his position would surely have been swept off his feet by mighty demonstrations of support and admiration from the followers. Not so Mr. Jinnah. His eyes were constantly fixed on the goal he had set for his people. He could look ahead and beyond the immediate welter of events. Neither the malicious hostility of the opponents nor the fulsome adulation of the followers could deflect him from the path of rectitude and

*This was the first time he wore this cap and it has since come to be known as Jinnah Cap and is now the national headgear of Pakistan.

wisdom. He astonished his most ardent supporters by the firmness with which he fitted himself into the role of mass leadership. The greater the opposition to his policy, the stronger he grew. It was at this time that a grateful people whom he had shown the path of honour and safety offered him the magnificent title of the "Quaid-i-Azam" which soon became a byword in every Muslim home. If I remember aright it was the late Maulana Mazharuddin, Editor of *Al-Amin* Delhi, who, interpreting the Muslim mind, suggested this title for Mr. Jinnah, and it was first raised by Mian Ferozuddin Ahmad of Lahore at the Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League in 1938.

Responding to the call of students for whom he always had a very soft corner, Mr. Jinnah visited Aligarh in February 1938. He was accorded a right royal reception at the station and taken out in a magnificent procession such as Aligarh had never witnessed. The remarkable feature of the procession was that his carriage was pulled by the students themselves over a route of three miles. That night was a gala night at Aligarh, for Mr. Jinnah was to speak on the position of Muslim India *vis-a-vis* the political situation of the country. He was always in his best form when speaking at Aligarh, for here he found the cream of Muslim intelligentsia who could best appreciate his observations. The speech delivered on this occasion was a superb example of mellowed eloquence. It was remarkable for its note of personal intimacy and intensity of feeling for the plight of his people. He spoke as if he were addressing a family gathering which showed how deep and sincere was his solicitude for Aligarh. His speech was punctuated by frequent outbursts of applause which at times were so vociferous that it seemed as if the roof of the famous Strachey Hall where he was speaking would be blown off. He concluded his speech with a beautiful peroration which ran as follows:

> "To-day Primary Leagues have been established almost in every district, in every town, and every village. They are gathering the precious stones, rubies, sapphires and diamonds, the scattered energies and talents of the Muslim community; and when you have got an artistic jeweller to set them it will be a jewel which you will be proud of."

Needless to say, the Muslims found that artistic jeweller in no other person than Mr. Jinnah himself.

The first real mass gathering, in journalistic terminology, "mammoth gathering," that I saw Mr. Jinnah address was the Patna Session of the All-India Muslim League in December

1938. In the beautifully decorated pandal built by Syed Abdul Aziz, the Bihar leader. Mr. Jinnah spoke extempore for about two hours. The steam-roller of Congress tyranny and persecution had been grinding the Muslims since the advent of Congress Ministries, particularly in the province of Bihar, and Muslim passions naturally had risen high. No one felt more for the oppressed Muslims than their leader, Mr. Jinnah. It was against this emotional background that he was speaking at Patna. His speech illustrated a wonderful quality of his mind—namely, in the state of heightened emotion he never for a moment lost his grip over reason and right perception. Not that he was incapable of emotional reactions. But he could keep perfect control over his emotions and could always subordinate his instincts and feelings to the higher cause and the nobler principle. Nothing would betray him into uttering a loose word or an indiscreet remark. He told the Muslims that they had not yet got to the fringe of acquiring that essential quality—moral, cultural and political self-consciousness—which the Hindus always had and which was the force behind them. When the Muslims too had developed a national self and national individuality they would realise what they wanted. Wise and prophetic words these. Just two years later they knew that they were a nation and what they wanted was their homeland and State.

It is doubtful whether any other politician in old age displayed such powers of original and revolutionary thinking as Mr. Jinnah did. He propounded two original propositions which stirred the waters of Indian politics as nothing had ever done before and which revolutionised the entire course of Indian politics in the future. Firstly, the democratic parliamentary system of government as was in vogue in Western countries was unsuited to India; secondly, India was not a nation but a conglomeration of nations, big and small, of whom Muslims were one of the major nations. One of the earliest occasions when he made this declaration was a party given in his honour by the teaching staff of the Aligarh Muslim University on the beautifully-trimmed lawns of the swimming pool of the University in March 1939. Referring to a statement made in the address presented by the staff to the effect that the Muslim League was the offspring of the Aligarh Movement and Aligarh men were among the pioneers of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah humorously remarked that a poor relation, as soon as he gets rich, is owned and welcomed by the wealthy relations. He was hinting at the lack of enthusiastic response from Aligarh. particularly the older generation, during the early phase of the Muslim League's struggle. Of course, he paid a tribute to Aligarh men for the

magnificent part they had played in the social, cultural and educational advancement of Muslim India. He also emphatically declared that the Muslims of India were a nation and no constitutional arrangement would work unless it recognised this basic fact.

Mr. Jinnah always had his hand on the pulse of his people and could feel the vibrations of their hearts. He knew how to express the stirrings of their minds in the form of concrete propositions. Having found that his people had regained their national and cultural self-consciousness he boldly enunciated their national goal as an independent sovereign State in the regions of Muslim majority. This was done at Lahore in March 1940. Perhaps never before had an Indian leader to face such a perilous situation and never were qualities of leadership put to a more severe test. A day or two before the commencement of the session a shooting tragedy had taken place in which a considerable number of Khaksars had been killed. Consternation prevailed in Lahore and the leaders of the Unionist Party who were only nominally Muslim Leaguers were keen to have the session postponed. But Mr. Jinnah's faith in his people was unflagging and it was proved true. All fears of disturbance at the session were belied and the proceedings were gone through without the slightest hitch.

The Khaksar situation was handled by Mr. Jinnah with supreme tact and adroitness. I distinctly remember that the situation was debated in the Subjects Committee till late into the night in an atmosphere of outraged passions. Mr. Jinnah alone could keep the passions in check. The late Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had to face a withering fire of criticism and was saved from outright condemnation only by Mr. Jinnah's intervention. Eventually a balanced resolution was drafted, but no one had the courage to assume the responsibility of moving it in the open session the next day. Mr. Jinnah rose to the occasion. It demonstrated the unique trust that the people reposed in his integrity and sense of judgment. He explained to the vast gathering the delicate nature of the resolution and the reason why no discussion on it should take place in the open session and asked for their permission to move it from the chair. The gathering having willingly signified its consent to the unusual procedure, he moved the resolution from the chair explaining its terms in a closely reasoned speech with the result that the resolution was unanimously adopted amid acclamation —a happy finale to an explosive situation which, but for his

tact and patience, would have led to greater complications and disaster.

After the Lucknow meeting the conference at Lahore was the second historic gathering—in fact, more significant and far-reaching in its consequences. His speech on this occasion, particularly the portion dealing with the constitutional problem of India, and the Muslim claim to separate nationhood and statehood was a remarkable example of brilliant thinking and racy expression. I can recall him to-day standing on the raised platform inside the huge oval pandal on the grounds of Minto Park speaking in prophetic tones like a man of destiny. After he had finished explaining how the maintenance of the myth of Indian unity would spell disaster and why separate Hindu and Muslim States should be established everyone in the vast gathering felt like Ghalib:

دیکھنا تقریر کی لذت کہ جو اس نے کہا
میں نے یہ جانا کہ گویا یہ بھی میرے دل میں ہے

I often had the good fortune and privilege of having interviews with the Quaid-i-Azam. It is difficult and sometimes impossible to seek interview with lesser men, but never so with him. I retain the sweetest memories of these exhilarating meetings with him—they will ever remain a priceless asset. I happened to call on him at his Delhi home one afternoon in the month of February 1941. I was ushered into the small ante-room adjoining the vestibule where he often received visitors. I did not have to wait, for the next moment I heard Mr. Jinnah's voice reverberating in the hall. How graciously he greeted me! How warm was his hand-shake! As soon as we had sat down to talk he called for tea and offered me more than one cup. As we talked he asked about the doubts and objections which young men still entertained regarding the Lahore Resolution. I enumerated them. He listened and then sent for his beautiful leather-bound note-book wherein he recorded those questions, remarking that he would like to deal with them during his forthcoming visits to Aligarh and Lahore. For full forty minutes he discussed those questions throwing a flood of light and I heard spellbound.

It was at such meetings that one discovered another aspect of his greatness—as a conversationalist. He started slowly at first. You were at once bewitched by the musical ring of his cultured voice, the beauty of his intonation, and the easy flow of his expression. Words fell from his lips like beautifully-formed pearls and rubies and one found it difficult to gather them all in one's lap. As he got into the stride you were moved by the

intensity of his intellectual passion; the emotional fervour was not much in evidence as he always kept his emotions in check. While hearing the Quaid-i-Azam one could realise what it was to be "possessed" of a great "Idea". Every fibre of his being seemed to vibrate with the "Pakistan idea". His passion was infectious. Whether you agreed with him or not you could not escape this infection. If you agreed you were filled with zeal to contribute your mite towards its realisation ; if you did not, you were haunted by it.

Impelled by human frailty, I sometimes invited his attention to what appeared to me to be a rather disquieting development in the League organisation. When the League had grown into a powerful body after the exit of Congress Ministries and the passage or of the Lahore Resolution many persons who had sat on the fence and scoffed at and resorted to all manner of intrigues and machinations against the League strove to manoeuvre themselves into positions of authority in the League. I, like many others who never had any lure for office, genuinely feared that this might sabotage the carefully-built solidarity of the organisation. But the Quaid-i-Azam's vision transcended all such fears ; his magnanimity was unbounded. He observed that selfless workers should not bother about such ephemeral developments ; they should concentrate on solid constructive work. The League was a national organisation ; its object was to bring in every single Mussalman within its fold. If some work, some support was forthcoming by conceding an office here or a seat there to self-seekers, where was the harm ? The honest workers should feel the ground solid under their feet and make it impossible for any saboteur to damage the organisation, should he dare to make such an attempt. I took these words to heart and never did I worry my head again on this score.

In the course of one of my talks with him I told the Quaid-i-Azam that I felt rather pessimistic about the attitude of the intelligentsia, particularly the youth, regarding the freedom struggle carried on by the masses. He said, "Don't worry. The intelligentsia may appear somewhat sluggish but the Muslim masses by their dynamism are creating a situation which will soon lead our intelligentsia too to roll up their sleeves and jump into the fray." Time proved that the Quaid was right and I was wrong. This was all too evident during the epochmaking election campaign of 1945-46 in which the intelligentsia, particularly the student community, played a decisive part.

The Quaid-i-Azam, as I said, was ever willing to extend encouragement and support to humble workers. I relate two instances from my experience. Soon after the adoption of the

Pakistan Resolution by the All-India Muslim League at Lahore I wrote a treatise elucidating the various implications and aspects of the resolution and submitted it to the Quaid-i-Azam. He very kindly went through it and not only approved it but provided me with the necessary funds out of his own pocket to have it published in the form of a booklet which was widely circulated. As time passed, Pakistan became a burning issue and attracted the attention of foreign observers and journalists. They often met the Quaid-i-Azam and asked him for a brief written exposition of the case for Pakistan and the Muslim League's stand *vis-a-vis* the various issues in the context of the war situation then prevailing. In compliance with his wishes I prepared a brochure on the subject which was published by the Home Study Circle—a study group formed and conducted by his Secretary, Mr. M H. Saiyid. This brochure proved useful to foreign observers.

There is an impression in certain quarters that the Quaid-i-Azam was a self-willed man and would not listen to what others had to say or suggest. This again is an entirely wrong impression. I was only a humble worker of the Muslim League without any pretentions to standing or importance. But I can testify from my own experience that the Quaid-i-Azam not only heard but gave due consideration to what humble individuals had to submit. I can recall that in 1941, when the election to the office of Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University had become a very contentious issue, especially in view of the political situation, I, as a member of the teaching staff of the University, approached the Quaid-i-Azam and placed before him all the relevant facts and issues involved in the controversy. He not only gave me a very courteous hearing but discussed all the pros and cons of the matter and finally took a decision which proved to be in the best interest of the University and the Muslim League.

The Annual Session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1942 which synchronised with the visit of the Cripps Mission manifested another glorious feature of Mr. Jinnah's character—his magnanimity towards opponents! In the meeting of the Subjects Committee which preceded the open session Maulana Hasrat Mohani attempted to move a resolution advocating outright rejection of the Cripps Scheme for the framing of the future constitution of India and lay down in detail the principles of the future constitution to which he wanted the League to adhere under all circumstances. The resolution had been lost in the Subjects Committee. According to rules, it could not be moved again in the open session. When a resolution, approved by the Subjects Committee, came before the open session authorising Mr. Jinnah to continue negotiations with the Cripps Mission

with a view to securing full and satisfactory recognition of the principle of Pakistan, Maulana Hasrat Mohani resorted to an indirect method by attempting to move his resolution as an amendment to the Subjects Committee's resolution before the open session. Clearly the amendment was unconstitutional. Mr. Jinnah in a calm and closely reasoned speech explained the correct position. He could easily have ruled it out of order and there would have been an end of the matter. But he allowed Maulana Hasrat Mohani to speak on his amendment. The Maulana made a rather intemperate speech, and went to the extent of casting reflections on Mr. Jinnah's judgment and even intentions. He even expressed the suspicion that Mr. Jinnah would not uphold the Muslim League ideal and would accept something less than an independent and sovereign status for Pakistan. This caused a furore among the audience who were not prepared to hear a word against Mr. Jinnah.

The whole gathering was soon up on its feet ; there were cries of "Withdraw, withdraw. We do not want to hear the Maulana. Pull him down." Some delegates were actually seen rushing towards the dais ; they were with difficulty persuaded by the National Guards to desist from ascending the dais. Pandemonium raged all round. Any other person in place of Mr. Jinnah would have taken advantage of the situation and would have called upon Maulana Hasrat to resume his seat. But Mr. Jinnah, like the magnanimous man that he was, repeatedly called for order and asked the audience to give a patient hearing to the Maulana. Mr. Jinnah heard the Maulana's tirade against himself with goodhumoured tolerance and kept smiling all the time. This was, however, a matter in which the people who were all for Mr. Jinnah were not willing to obey even his behest. An amusing incident took place in the enclosure where I happened to be sitting. Some delegates were saying that they should hear the Maulana as it was the wish of the Quaid-i-Azam himself ; others hotly contested this assertion and said that they would not hear a word against the Quaid-i-Azam, even though he himself might ask them to do so. Though taking opposite stands both were inspired by the same passion—deep love and reverence for the Quaid-i-Azam. When the question was put to vote the vast gathering except for the Maulana and one or two other persons combined to turn down the amendment. The incident illustrates a trait all too rare in modern political leadership—largehearted tolerance towards opponents.

The General Elections of 1945-46 provided the League with the long-sought opportunity to prove its representative character. It also gave to League workers, especially the youth, a chance

to show their mettle. The Quaid-i-Azam had always had great hopes in the youth of his nation, and it will redound to the eternal credit of the Aligarh youth that they fulfilled the expectations of their leader on this occasion which was to determine the whole future destiny of Muslim India. The Quaid-i-Azam by this time had known me and watched my work for well-nigh eight years. The confidence he reposed in me on this occasion will remain with me the most cherished possession of life. Under his instructions I formed a special committee to organise the Aligarh youth for taking part in the election campaign in different provinces. He placed a substantial amount of money at the disposal of the committee for the purpose. As far as I can recall the committee sent out over a thousand young workers to different provinces after imparting to them thorough training at a centre which had been specifically set up for the purpose. These tough and indomitable workers astonished even their admirers by the way they made sacrifices and faced all hardships and impediments, for it had become a popular belief that Aligarh men were accustomed to ways of ease and comfort. They carried everything before them and the work they put in was, in no small measure, responsible for the phenomenal victory of the Muslim League in the elections, which established, once and for all, its claim to speak on behalf of Muslim India and proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Pakistan was the national demand of the Mussalmans of India. It was especially in the provinces of the Punjab and Sind that the Aligarh workers, together with their compatriots of the Punjab, staked their all, fought with their backs to the wall and emerged triumphant. I can say without fear of contradiction that the League's cent-per-cent success in the second general election held in Sind towards the end of 1946 was due, in a large measure, to the thorough and systematic work done by Aligarh men. Their best reward was the appreciation of their services by the Quaid-i-Azam.

It was in the course of the general election campaign that I had my last meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam. I had returned from a tour of the Punjab where I had gone with co-workers to study the situation with a view to determining the extent and nature of help we could extend from Aligarh. It was a cold January morning of 1946. The Quaid-i-Azam was to receive the British Parliamentary Goodwill Delegation that day ; but he graciously gave me an appointment earlier in the morning. He received me in the library which was a large sunny room with green, upholstered sofas and chairs. He insisted on my sitting near the electric heater as it was rather cold. I gave him my impressions of the situation in the Punjab and also a resume of the firsthand reports we

had received from our workers in other provinces. He made a careful note of the suggestions I offered for the more efficient prosecution of the election campaign and promised to consider them. He asked me to see to it that young workers did not embroil themselves in the squabbles about the distribution of League tickets to particular candidates. He also gave me some very useful hints as to the lines on which the young workers should campaign for League candidates, particularly in the majority provinces. I put him certain questions regarding the probable steps the League would take after the conclusion of elections.

In the course of the conversation the Quaid-i-Azam related an interesting incident to illustrate the point that the idea of Pakistan had gone deep into the hearts of all sections of Muslims, including children. He said that during his visit to Sind in November 1946 a ten-year old girl came to see him and presented him with a handkerchief embroidered with the map of the sub-continent, the Pakistan areas being shown in green. The Quaid-i-Azam asked the girl as to what she understood by the green areas. She replied, "Sir, these are areas where Muslims are in majority and they should rule here. The Hindus could rule in other areas." With a feeling of pride the Quaid said, "When even little children have understood the meaning of Pakistan there can be no doubt that it is the demand of the Muslim nation and we will have it."

As usual the interview enhanced both my knowledge and optimism. When I left him after an hour's lively and instructive conversation I had no doubt left in my mind that the attainment of Pakistan was a matter of a year are so. It will remain the regret of my life that owing to unpropitious circumstances I could not see him after this meeting, though I kept in touch with him through correspondence.

I cannot give a better close-up of my impressions of the Quaid-i-Azam than by quoting a passage from the Introduction I wrote to the book *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah.*

> "In him you find an extraordinary combination of seemingly opposite traits which have made his personality a fascinating phenomenon of human greatness. He combines richness of human feeling with acuteness of intellect, sternness of discipline with magnanimity of disposition, robust optimism with caution and circumspection unflinching courage with astute strategy, and national pride with meekness of spirit, born of true religious faith. His vision of high and

untrammelled by momentary vicissitudes, his speech charming and invigorating, his soul saturated with the deepest pathos. Verily it was of such a leader that the great poet said:

نگہ بلند، سخن دلنواز جاں پر سوز
یہی ہے رخت سفر میر کارواں کے لیے

PART TWO

APPRECIATIONS



A meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee at Simla in May, 1946.
(L to R clock wise) Mr. Abdul Matin Chowdhry, Mian Bashir Ahmad, Qazi Muhammad Isa, Mr. M. A. Khuhro, Sheikh Karamat Ali, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Nawab of Mamdot, Haji Ishaq Sattar Seth, Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, Nawab Ismail Khan, the Quaid, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (Prime Minister of Pakistan)

On this memorable occasion I am reminded of the father of our nation and the founder of our freedom, our Great Leader, our Quaid-i Azam, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, of revered memory, without whose vision, determination and burning honesty Pakistan might have remained a vague longing and a distant dream. A sincere patriot, a passionate follower of the democratic idea, and a man who saw farther and more clearly than his fellows, he led the Muslims of British India out of their perplexities and frustrations into the open air of freedom, and gave shape, significance and direction to their quest for liberty. All his life he fought for the shadow, for the thing and not for the word, he let no illusions or catch-phrases obscure his penetrating insight or confound his grasp of the essentials. He struggled long and hard to forge the diverse peoples of this sub-continent into a mighty nation. But foremost as he was in the ranks of those who fought for independence, he was also the first to proclaim fearlessly that the people of British India, bound together though they were in their common subjection, were not one but two nations, and that to relegate one hundred million Muslims to the position of a perpetual political minority and to force the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation into a single unwieldy State would be the negation of democracy and would create the greatest single unstable area in the world.

The great truth that he uttered was so startling in its simplicity that for a long time even some of his close friends and companions found it stimulating but strange. But the hundred million suppressed Muslims knew instinctively that what he said merely gave coherence and dynamism to their own hesitant, inarticulate feelings. When on the 15th of August 1947 our flag was unfurled in Karachi a nation of eighty million people thanked God that the Quaid-i-Azam had lived to see his dream come true. And when he left us to rest in God, to whose greater glory he had dedicated himself, we knew that he had bequeathed to us a great destiny to fulfil. Wherever the flag of Pakistan

may fly, its capital shall always be that hallowed piece of earth where he lies buried.

[*Extract from an address to a joint session of the Canadian House of Parliament at Ottawa,* 31 *May* 1950.]

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As the day of freedom from foreign domination approached, uneasiness increased and the Muslims began to wonder whether as a perpetual, unalterable, political minority in a country of four hundred million people, freedom from the British rule would really mean freedom from all suppression; whether in the land to which their forefathers had come as proud conquerors several centuries ago and to whose civilisation in the domain of civics and aesthetics they had made valuable contributions the future of the Muslims in the face of a dominating and aggressive majority held any promise of economic development or cultural progress. In their anxiety and perplexity they groped for solutions but found none that could fill them with optimism.

At this moment arose a man amongst us who saw farther and more clearly than any of us, a man who for years had fought the British side by side with the Hindu patriots but who, more than any of his companions, sought freedom not for the Hindus alone but for the Hindus and for the Muslims. His name was Mohammad Ali Jinnah. All his life he had been a great constitutionalist and a passionate student of democratic institutions. What he said was in its simplicity and truth so startling that for a long time people could not take it in. He said that, in democracy, a political minority should have the opportunity of converting itself into a majority but if it is so situated that it can never hope to change its minority status, no constitutional safeguards can adequately protect its rights. The three hundred million Hindus of British India are a perpetual majority. The one hundred million Muslims are a perpetual minority. And since vast and unbridgeable differences separate them and in the political life of the country there is no possibility of their ever changing places, democracy in these circumstances would have no real content. He uttered the simple truth that a hundred million Muslims are not a minority; they are a nation larger than most nations in the world. The vast areas of British India where they were in a majority were their country. Its name was Pakistan—a name which our greatest modern poet had given to it in one of his inspired visions. Mohammad Ali Jinnah's simple and clear truth cleared the atmosphere of cant and doubt and electrified the Muslims frome one end of the sub-continent to the other. We called him the Quaid-i-Azam, the great leader. He filled the Muslims with his own in-

domitable determination. He lived to see his dream come true, to see the jubilation of millions of Muslims at the birth of Pakistan—the largest Muslim country in the world and the fifth most populous—to see the green and white flag of Pakistan hoisted over the capital, Karachi. And when he passed away eighty million people of the new nation of which he was the father bowed their heads in sorrow and reverence.

[*Extract from the address delivered at the University of California, Barkeley*, 16 *May* 1950.]

Khwaja Nazimuddin (Member of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League)

Returning to this country after several years' absence in England Mr. Jinnah perceived the decay which had attacked the Muslim body politic. He found dissension and disunity on all sides and the Muslim League itself shorn of much of its cohesion, strength and influence. With a new constitution in the offing Mr. Jinnah realised the danger in which the Muslims would find themselves with their own house divided. With the keen foresight of a statesman Mr. Jinnah chalked out a policy for the Muslims which was calculated to secure for them their rightful position under the sun.

With the devotion of a true son of Islam he set himself to unite and strengthen under the banner of the All-India Muslim League the scattered forces of Islam. With the zeal of a genuine patriot he called upon the Congress and the Mahasabha to beware of a policy of communal domination that might plunge India into chaos and drive Hindus and Muslims irrevocably apart. In spite of his age and health which has been none too strong, Mr. Jinnah toured the country from one end to another, preaching his message of unity and solidarity. If to-day the Muslims of India have grown to be a power to be reckoned with, if ninety million Muslims now stand shoulder to shoulder in a solid phalanx under the banner of the All-India Muslim League, if machinations to reduce the Muslims to the position of a perpetual and powerless minority depending for their very lives on the mercy of others have failed, the credit goes primarily to one man, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. This is no mean achievement.

Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Quaid-i-Azam of the Muslims of India, represents to-day the hopes, aspirations and ideals of the Muslims of India who have unbounded faith in his leadership and his ability to guide the great Muslim nation of India along the path of progress and success. . . .

We see a young man, belonging to a middle-class family, who gave early proof of the strength of his character and his unshaken faith in his own abilities and powers. When Sir Charles Ollivant, the then Member in charge of the Judicial Department of the Government of Bombay, pressed young Jinnah to accept a Government post the salary of which would ultimately be Rs. 1500 per month, the intrepid and independent young man "with the usual smile on his face . . . thankfully declined, saying that his ultimate ambition was to earn Rs. 1500 a day." And he made good his word, for he rose very high in his profession. Many years later when he was asked about the secret of his success he replied : "Character, courage, industry and perseverance are the four pillars on which the whole edifice of human life can be built, and failure is a word unknown to me."

One of the reasons, perhaps the main reason, why Jinnah is frequently attacked by the so-called Nationalist Press of India is the fact that in the beginning he was an ardent and staunch Congressman, and now he is supposed to be its most implacable and dangerous opponent. . . . Jinnah is not a turncoat or time-server and he does not believe in creating or maintaining differences between Hindus and Muslims in order to perpetuate British rule in India. . . . Jinnah has always tried to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity and he has been ever fearless in advocating the freedom of India and justice to Indians at home and abroad. . . . Jinnah's patriotism was so much above cavil or suspicion that he was chosen as a member of the Congress delegation which went to England in 1914 ; at the suggestion of Mr. Lam public contributions poured in for the foundation of a hall to mark "the great appreciation of Mr. Jinnah's services" and the famous Jinnah People's Memorial Hall was erected in Bombay . . . the same Hall is being used to-day for discussing plans for undermining and misrepresenting that great personality—that great leader and patriot, Jinnah. . . .

The much-maligned demand of the Muslims for Pakistan is not an attempt to prevent the freedom of India, but rather the only means of achieving it ; for it was that great Hindu leader Lala Lajpat Rai who first suggested that "either the Muslims of India should give up their role as a separate entity or India should be divided into Hindu States and Muslim States, failing which India could never hope to become independent." The present just demand of the Muslims for Pakistan is the logical development of this suggestion which is now regarded by the Hindus as an attempt of Muslims to perpetuate British rule in India, whereas the facts are the other way round, for Pakistan

is the one and the only solution of India's political problem and the only means of achieving the freedom of the country. . . .

Our Quaid-i-Azam is a great patriot and his successful efforts to awaken the Muslim community and make it a living and effective body is the surest way to achieve the freedom and salvation of India. Like Allama Iqbal, Jinnah believes that Muslims can serve their country only if they become conscious of their great destiny, become united and acquire power. Jinnah wants Muslims to become true Muslims in thought and deed, and by acquiring power show to the world how power can be used justly, how the Muslim defends and maintains the rights of others instead of trampling upon them. The clarion call of Jinnah to Muslims is best expressed in the words of the great Muslim national poet Iqbal:

جس سے جگر لالہ میں ٹھنڈک ہو وہ شبنم
دریاؤں کے دل جس سے دہل جائیں وہ طوفان

[He is the dew-drop which comforts the heart of the flower;
He is the storm which strikes terror in the hearts of the rivers.]

[*Extract from Introduction to M. H. Saiyid's book*:
M.A. Jinnah: A Political Study, 1944.]

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Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (General Secretary, All-India Muslim League)

Honesty without humbug—an honesty which even his severest critics have never called in question, an honesty which seeks no shelter in sanctimonious spiritual impediments, which abjures alike the halo and the high place, the beard and the bargain, the mystic voice and the money value—an unemotional shrewdness which strips facts down to their naked reality but makes him pace the floor till the early hours of the morning examining and re-examining, weighing and valuing each detail of the decision upon which the very life or death of his people might depend—perseverance which recognises no obstacle as insurmountable; intellectual acumen which can see the whole in detail and detail as part of the whole; such is the man and statesman, the Quaid-i-Azam of ninety million Indian Muslims, the Disraeli of Indian politics—Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

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Malik Barkat Ali (Member, Working Committee, All-India Muslim League)

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah has been now in the forefront of India's public life for more than thirty years and it can truly be said of him, in the words of the English poet, that "whatever record leap to light, he never shall be shamed." An unflinching patriot from the very dawn of his public career, with an unquenchable passion for freedom and liberty, he has ever striven to break those chains of slavery and subjugation which have gathered round India and its people and prevented them from rising to the full height of their stature. His selfless work in the cause of the Motherland so impressed the late Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale that in the tribute he once paid to him he said, "He has true stuff in him and that freedom from all sectarian prejudice which make him the best Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity."

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Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad (Treasurer and Member of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League)

He is our teacher, preceptor and guide—that is how we of the younger generation regard our great Quaid. He received our allegiance and having received it taught us what true and honest politics is and guided as on the right political path. He has steered our mind clear of pseudo-nationalism to a right perception of the implications of that patriotism for the Indian Muslims which, while not forgetting the true interests of the Motherland, holds fast to Islam and, above all, he has, by making it his own by the clarity of his exposition and the irrefutability of his arguments, given an irresistible momentum to that life-giving movement, the movement for the creation of sovereign Muslim States in those parts of India where Islam pervades, i.e. the Eastern and North-Western India.

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Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman (Member of the Working Committee of All-India Muslim League)

The Presidentship and the Secretaryship of the Muslim League passed on to Maharajah Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad and Sir Wazir Hasan and the great historic session of the League was held at Lucknow during their terms of office. According to the constitution of the All-India Muslim League of that time there used to be a permanent President and a President for the annual session, and thus Mr. Mohammad Ali

Jinnah (the Quaid-i-Azam) was chosen to preside over this historic gathering.

In the spacious drawing room of Mahmudabad House discussions used to be held till late in the night in which the lean but graceful and commanding figure of the Quaid-i-Azam appeared to be the centre of all attractions. . . .

The Congress session which was to endorse the resolution (for non-co-operation) assumed great importance particularly for the Muslims who flocked in large numbers to attend it during the Christmas week in 1920 at Nagpur.

Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah also attended the session when the main resolution came to be discussed and besides some others he also vehemently opposed it. Although the result of voting went against him still one could see that as a farsighted politician he was fully conscious of the dangers and pitfalls which lay before the Muslims in their pursuit of the Khilafat Movement.

The Quaid-i-Azam had steadily been watching these events (adoption of Nehru Report in 1928 and Independence resolution in 1929). He kept himself quite aloof from the Congress machinations and had only once since 1920 championed the Muslim cause at Calcutta in 1928 in the Congress Convention when all the demands put forward by him had been rejected by the majority community. In this Convention for the first time there was a basic agreement on fundamentals between Maulana Mohammad Ali and the Quaid-i-Azam and keen observers realised that sooner or later Muslim solidarity would become a reality if the Hindu Congress continued to pursue its policy of Muslim-baiting as was apparent from the proceedings of the Convention where the entire Muslim *bloc* was treated with scant respect. It was also obvious to keen political observers that the clear-cut, realistic, farsighted policy of the Quaid-i-Azam was asserting itself in proportion to the political education of the Muslim masses which had stepped up during the period of the Khilafat Movement. . . .

It was during this period (1930-47) that the Quaid-i-Azam's undoubted capacity for leadership of Muslim India was recognised and acclaimed. . . . He was great in life and greater after death.

[*Extract from an article in* Dawn *of* 11 *September* 1949.]

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Pakistan—Achievement of a Single Man
Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan

[The following is a speech deilvered by Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan at a memorial meeting held in London on 18 September 1948. He was Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and Judge of the Federal Court of India. In 1947 he was appointed Foreign Minister of Pakistan by the Quaid-i-Azam. He represented Pakistan at several sessions of the United Nations Organisation and was President of its General Assembly in 1962. He is serving for the second time as a Judge of the International Court of Justice at the Hague.]

At a time like this when our hearts are brimful of sorrow it is not easy to put our feelings into words. Nevertheless I shall try to put before you what must be Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah's true memorial. Pakistan came into being as the achievement of a single man. In political history it was unique. For a man past middle age to have conceived of an ideal of that kind, first to have persuaded his people to see what he saw and then to have persuaded the larger community in the country, is something that one has not heard of anywhere else in history.

It was a thing of great daring that a man at the age of sixty-four, accustomed to every comfort in life, should take on an ideal which would make the severest test of all his physical and intellectual qualities. He never flinched from announcing that ideal and the whole of his knowledge and strength were put to its achievement. That this great ideal was achieved in little over seven years will always be a wonder, but a still greater matter of surprise for the world historians is that it was almost certainly achieved by a single man.

The Quaid-i-Azam had to conceive the ideal, put it before his own people in the face of severest opposition from certain sections of the Muslims themselves, carry the nation with him towards the end of the struggle and convince both the Indian National Congress and the British Government that this was the only feasible issue. He was possessed of a strong will, determination, high sense of duty and sacrifice. During the last few months the strain had become unbearable and he moved from Karachi. He suffered from no chronic disease but was seventy-one and without adequate reserves of strength. His medical advisers had told him to ease up in his work but he could not and, while life lasted, he went on guiding his country. He had worked himself to death.

[Dawn, 19 *September*, 1949]

Outstanding Personality in Eastern Political Life
(*Sir Stafford Cripps*)

[The following talk was broadcast on 17 September 1948 in the B. B. C. programme by Sir Stafford Cripps President, of the Board of Trade in Mr. Attlee's Cabinet in 1948]

I have been asked to speak to you to-night to express the deep sorrow of the British people and the British Government at the sudden passing of Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Governor-General of Pakistan—one of the outstanding personalities in Eastern political life.

It is now many years since I first came into contact with Mr. Jinnah as a fellow-lawyer, at a time when he was practising in this country before the Privy Council in Indian Appeals. But his activities in Indian politics had made him an outstanding figure long before that. It was in his quite early years that he first joined in the Indian nationalist movement and associated himself with the Indian Congress, which at that time contained all nationalist elements in India.

I remember very well giving an address in the Jinnah Hall in Bombay in the autumn of 1939 and being told that the Hall had been erected by the members of the Indian Congress to commemorate the good work which Mr. Jinnah had done while in Bombay in their cause. It was after that time that Mr. Jinnah became a member and the leader of the revived Muslim League, at a time when the communal differences between the Hindus and the Muslims were tending to their separation in the nationalist movement.

From the moment that he assumed the role of a leader of the Muslims in India Mr. Jinnah was never challenged in that leadership. He showed himself as an outstanding figure and one to whom the Muslim population looked more and more for their guidance and inspiration. It was at the beginning of the 1940's that he became convinced that any solution of the problem of self-government must be on the basis of autonomy for those parts of the sub-continent which had Muslim majorities, and it was in this conviction that his passionate advocacy for Pakistan had its origin.

Once he was convinced that there was no other way out he threw himself heart and soul into the effort to convert public opinion to his point of view, and throughout all the years of negotiation and argument that preceded the grant of self-government to the peoples of India, he stuck with a single-minded intensity to his determination to create a free Muslim

State—or Pakistan as he called it. In this he never wavered, and in all the long discussions which I had with him during my three visits to India, it was clear that nothing short of attainment of this purpose would statisfy his desire for his people.

He was not a man given to compromise, and as the intensity of the arguments increased with the growing communal friction, he became more and more settled in his determination. His rigidity of views in this matter, which he declared as so vital to his people, was a measure of his passionate care for the future of the Muslims in India, and of his sense of their need as a widely scattered minority for political protection.

In 1947 he achieved his aim. Despite the many warnings that Pakistan would find extreme difficulty in maintaining its economy, despite the obvious difficulties created by the two parts, separated by one thousand miles of Indian territory, despite all the great difficulties, he accepted the challenge of the situation and led his people to their freedom. He showed the greatest courage and determination, for, although he had many helpers and advisers amongst his own people, the final decision was his own. He thus became the first Governor-General of Pakistan to which post he was appointed by H.M. the King on 15 August 1947.

The history of that short year, since Pakistan was born into the comity of nations, will be too recent in your minds to need any recounting by me. The depth of sorrow of all the people of Pakistan is a measure of his success and of his popularity, both as Governor-General and as the leader who won for Pakistan its freedom.

He was a man of the highest standard of probity and honour, difficult to negotiate with, for the very reason that he was so determined in his purpose. He was a most charming and friendly host or companion, and was ready to sit up all night to convince others, or to listen to and counter their arguments. He was a most accomplished lawyer, outstanding even amongst Indian lawyers—and a fine constitutionalist, ready and willing to devote himself wholeheartedly to his people's cause, no matter what labour this entailed for himself.

We offer to the people of Pakistan our deepest sympathy in their loss and trust that those who follow him may bring to fruition his great ideal of a new-born country.

[*Dawn*, 18 *September* 1948.]

Note. The sequence of the events mentioned in this talk needs to be corrected. The Jinnah Hall was built by the people of Bombay in 1918.

Mr. Jinnah first joined the Muslim League in 1913. He presided over the League Session in 1916, was President of the League from 1919 to 1929 and again from 1934 to 1947—*Editor*.

Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu

[He was Secretary of State for India during the First World War. He toured India and met prominent politicians of all shades of opinion in 1917 and recorded his impressions in his diary. His opinion of Mr. Jinnah is reproduced below.]

We were face to face with the real giants of the Indian political world. . . . They were followed by Jinnah, young, perfectly mannered, impressive-looking, armed to the teeth with dialectics and insistent upon the whole of his scheme (the reference is to the Lucknow Pact). . . . I was rather tired and I funked him. Chelmsford tried to argue with him and was tied up into knots. Jinnah is a very clever man and it is an outrage that such a man should have no chance of running the affairs of his own country.

Lord Pethick-Lawrence

[He was Secretary of State for India in Mr. Attlee's Cabinet and as such led the Cabinet Delegation which negotiated with the Indian Political parties for final transfer of power in 1946. He had known the Quaid-i-Azam since 1930. Extracts from his speech at a meeting held in London in January 1959 to celebrate the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday are given below.]

It was Mr. Jinnah who with his great skill and determination led his people to obtain the position and win the independence of their country, and also, as you will remember, presided over the first few years of their existence. . . . It was one of the first great achievements of the Quaid-i-Azam that he created the conception of Pakistan and, having created the conception, he worked passionately and determinedly until he carried it to a successful result. Now he had, of course, immense powers of intellect and also of pursuasive eloquence which he used with such effect that the idea, which was at first an ideal only, became in the end a reality. Not only he had those gifts but I realised in him a man of very firm resolution, a man who when he made a promise always kept it and if he felt anybody else with whom he was negotiating failed to keep his promise he reacted very strongly. Of course, he had a very rugged personality; all men who have had to achieve, contrary to the

views of many of those with whom they came into contact, a tremendous change, constitutional change of a sort, have been men of that character. In our own country here in Britain we had our Oliver Cromwell, we had our Winston Churchill, in the United States they had their George Washington, and in other parts of the world, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, we have had men of rugged determination who carried out their will. But, provided that a man has his integrity of purpose and integrity of word, that ruggedness is not a hindrance but an essential ingredient of his success.

Sir Olaf Caroe

[He was Secretary, External Affairs Department of the Government of India, from 1939 to 1945, and Governor of the former N.-W.F. Province in 1946-47. He has written a notable book on the Pathans. His message to the meeting held to celebrate the Quaid-i-Azam's birthday in London in January 1959 is reproduced below]

Jinnah was much more than a politician. Perhaps that is why politicians do not all speak well of him. In Muslim terms he was almost a Mujaddid, one of those reformers sent once in a century, as the pious believe, to reinterpret the faith and guide the believer on the true path. That outwardly he looked a little like an Englishman may be to us here not a derogation but a challenge. The chief impression that remains is one of integrity and singleness of purpose. An undoubted outward pride of demeanour was in reality the expression of a sort of inner uprightness that would not suffer the second-rate or compromise with suftlety or devious tactics in any shape or form. It was the undeviating pursuit of what was to him the right and not merely the political end that led to Jinnah's remarkable success.

Sir George Cunningham

[He was Private Secretary to the Viceroy Lord Irwin and twice Governor of N.-W.F. Province. In his Preface to the book *Pakistan, The Formative Phase* he makes the following observations about the Quaid-i-Azam.]

The criticism voiced by *The Economist* [the British paper] among others that as an active party politician Jinnah should have been ruled out (as Governor-General) is blind to the fact that in August 1947 the Muslim League was not merely a political party; it was in reality the "successor authority" and its

leader naturally took on the mantle of the Viceroy of India. I know without a doubt, having worked directly under him for nine months thereafter, that the Quaid-i-Azam never let party spirit influence his conduct of his high office.

Mr. Ian Stephens

[He is an eminent journalist and writer. He was Editor of *Statesman* of New Delhi and Calcutta. He is author of the books: *Horned Moon* and *Pakistan*.]

In his book *Pakistan* Mr. Stephens refers to the Quaid-i-Azam "a nation-builder" whom "future historians may have to reckon the Asian Counterpart of Bismarck of Cavour." He says further: "What concerned him—utterly absorbed him in his latter years, calling forth all the strength of an extraordinary will—was to preserve the culture of the sub-continent's Muslim community against (as he saw it) the rising threat of suffocation by militant, revivalist Hinduism, a culture and religion combined, wholly inimical to everything Muslim, which was using ballot box as its instrument and hypocritically concealing itself behind the Congress Party's secular cloak."

Professor Rushbrook-Williams

[He was Professor of History at Allahabad University, Director of Public Information with the Government of India and a member of editorial staff of the *Times*, London. In his book *The State of Pakistan* he expresses the following opinion of the Quaid-i-Azam.]

To those who, like myself, knew better, it was clear that he was making a final sacrifice of all real prospect of recovering his health to the cause with which he had identified himself. He was thinking not only of holding together a new country, full of diverse forces and conflicting interests; he was thinking also of the people of Pakistan, of the masses of unconsidered folk, to whom his name had become a legend. Their need was leadership, not a constitution which might look nice on paper but which took little account of their real requirements . . . . As long as he lived he was determined to give the people of Pakistan the guidance and control which he knew they needed and, indeed, demanded from him.

Penderel Moon

[He is a retired officer of the Indian Civil Service who at the time of Partition was serving in Bahawalpur State. In his book *Divide and Quit* he pays the following tribute to the Quaid-i-Azam.]

To have transformed in little more than seven years the chimerical idea of Pakistan into a living political reality was an astonishing achievement. Alike in his tenacity of purpose and in his calm cold acceptance of consequences which would have deeply troubled the conscience of an ordinary man he showed qualities of greatness.

Sir Francies Low

[He is a distinguished journalist. He was Editor of *Times of India* from 1932 to 1948. In a message to the memorial meeting held in January 1959 he made the following observation about the Quaid-i-Azam.]

While we did not always agree, nevertheless I was deeply impressed by the sincerity with which Jinnah pursued a policy which he believed to be in the best interest of his fellow-Muslims. He was profoundly convinced of the strength of his cause, *and had it not been for Jinnah there would have been no Pakistan.*

Mr. D. F. Karaka

[He is a leading Indian journalist well known for his independence of views and candour of expression. He is Editor of the *Current* weekly. His tribute to the Quaid-i-Azam is reproduced below.]

Pakistan is a triumph which the Quaid-i-Azam *achieved single-handed.* One had to concede him his achievement, however much one differed from his politics and his ideology. It is not a small thing that he combined in himself all the responsibilities which his rival party, the Congress distributed and decentralised to the galaxy of talent which was at their disposal. When the British made any proposal the Congress had a wealth of talent at their beck and call which gave whatever expert opinion it needed on every conceivable subject. But Jinnah was his own financial genius, his own expert on politics, on Partition issues, on economics, on industry, and on the manifold problems of State. He was Pakistan himself. He was its life-blood. He was its heart and brain.

Mr. Frank Moraes

[He is a veteran Indian journalist. He was Editor of *Times of India* and is Editor-in-Chief of *Indian Express.* In an article entitled "He Willed a State into Being" Mr. Moraes makes the following observation about the Quaid-i-Azam.]

The Quaid-i-Azam is assured of a place among the Great Muslims of our time. Kemal Ataturk revived the ramshackle State which was Turkey. But Jinnah's achievement was in a sense more considerable. *Out of next to nothing he willed a State into being...* The ifs of history are fascinating, and if Mohammad Ali Jinnah had not taken upon himself to lead a crusade for an Islamic Land of the Pure, it is problematical whether Pakistan would ever have been established.

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Sir Percival Griffiths (I.C.S. Retired, former Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly)

In 1940 the demand for partition was formally made. The present writer has described elsewhere a dinner party just before the demand for Pakistan was officially formulated by the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah declared that at the stage of imperial rule where self-government was not in sight the British were the finest administrators known to history but that when politics and national feeling had begun to count they completely failed to understand the mentality of subject races. "You talk," he said "of the unity of India, but you ought to know that it is a chimera, existing nowhere except in your own minds and in the external unity which you wisely forced on the country. You go on to talk of parliamentary democracy and you fail to realise that the assumptions on which it depends have no application at all to Indian conditions." He went on to develop, cogently and impressively, his two-nation theory and to expound the full Pakistan demand, which was to be adopted by the Muslim League formally in March 1940. The writer and others present raised all the obvious objection—economic dangers, frontier problems, military and administrative difficulties. Mr. Jinnah brushed them all aside and completely refused to discuss details. This capacity for adhering to a clear-cut idea and ignoring all difficulties of detail and procedure was perhaps Mr. Jinnah's greatest source of strength. From this time onwards, he who had for long been the apostle of the unity of India set his face steadfastly towards partition and would not be deflected either by blandishments or threats.

[*Extract from his book* Modern India.]

Lord Spens

[Lord Spens, formerly Sir Patrick Spens, was the Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India from 1943 to 1947. At a memorial meeting held by the Pakistan Society of U. K. in London on 8 January 1959 he related some personal reminiscences about the Quaid-i-Azam which are reproduced below.]

He recalled that one night when he and his wife went to a cinema they found themselves in the next box to Mr. Jinnah and his sister. Mr. Jinnah at once sent a message suggesting that Miss Jinnah should join Lady Spens in one box and Lord Spens should join him in the other. The change-over took place accordingly. "It was a fine film," Lord Spens told the meeting, "and I found myself under severe cross-examination for a good two hours. Mr. Jinnah asked me all about the British constitution and judiciary and his questions were so searching and acute that I can only hope I acquitted myself satisfactorily in answering them."

Sometimes later, said Lord Spens, he was astonished to read in his morning newspaper that he was to be the Chairman of the Tribunal for the Division of Assets which was then being established. He proceeded, "This was the first I had heard of it and it came as something of a blow to the whole family, as we had planned to return to England and much of our packing had already been done. I determined to go to Delhi to find out exactly what was happening. There I was shown a copy of a letter which should have reached me some time previously but, alas! had not done so. It asked me whether I would accept the Chairmanship of the Tribunal.

"I went to see Lord Mountbattan who was then the Viceroy and told him that I would gladly serve as Chairman. He suggested that I should go and talk to Mr. Jinnah. The first thing Mr. Jinnah said was that, if I became Chairman of the Tribunal for the Division of Assets, I should have to relinquish the post of Chief Justice. I assured him that I had already announced that I would not, in any circumstances, agree to act as Chief Justice in either of the two new countries. Whereupon we got down to details and everything was settled with the utmost smoothness.

"That was the last time I ever met him personally. But, of course, we wrote to each other on many occasions. One of the kindest and most charming letters I have ever received in my life came from him in answer to a request from me that I might be spared from office for a week or two in order to take my wife on a visit to my daughter and son-in-law in Borneo. I still have it and

shall always treasure it."

Lord Spens had something to say about the four years 1931-34 during which Mr. Jinnah did legal work in London. He said, "When he arrived he took a large house in Hampstead and chambers in King's Bench Walk. He appeared before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in sixteen or seventeen cases, and the reports of his eloquent addresses which still exist make evident the extraordinary force of his intellect. His arguments were advanced with a combination of clarity, persuasiveness, and courtesy which won him many tributes. And I can assure you that the Committee of the Privy Council is about the most critical judicial body in this world!

"I know there are some people who claim that Mr. Jinnah was inclined to be cold and aloof in manner. I can only say that I never found him so," Lord Spens concluded.

Mr. Beverley Nichols

The most important man in Asia is sixty-seven, tall, thin and elegant, with a monocle on a grey cord, and a stiff white collar which he wears in the hottest weather. He suggests a gentleman of Spain, a diplomat of the old school; one used to see his like sitting in the window of the St. James's Club, sipping contrexeville while he read *Le Temps* which was propped against a Queen Anne toast rack stacked with toast Melba.

I have called Mr. Jinnah "the most important man in Asia". That was to ensure that you kept him spotlit in your mind. Like all superlatives the description is open to argument, but it is not really so far from the truth. India is likely to be the world's greatest problem for some years to come, and Mr. Jinnah is in a position of unique strategic importance. He can sway the battle this way or that as he chooses. His hundred million Muslims will march to the left, to the right, to the front, to the rear at his bidding, and nobody else's. . . . that is the point. It is not the same in the Hindu ranks. If Gandhi goes, there is always Nehru, or Rajagopalachari, or Patel or a dozen others. But if Jinnah goes, who is there?

By this I do not mean that the Muslim League would disintegrate—it is far too homogeneous and virile a body--but that its actions would be incalculable. It might run completely off the rails, and charge through India with fire and slaughter, it might start another war. As long as Jinnah is there, nothing like this will happen.

And so, you see, a great deal hangs on the grey silk cord of that monocle.

[*Extract from the book* Verdict on India, 1943]

Mr. R.G. Casey a (Former Governor of Bengal, now Governor-General of Australia)

It is not too much to say that Mr. Jinnah is the only outstanding Muslim of all-India stature in Indian politics to-day. . . . He is tall and very thin. He carries his years well, though he has a look of frailty. . . . He appears to have the legal mind; he holds his cards very close to his chest. He is not a "warm" man. . . . However, there is something in his eye that hints at a sense of humour, and deeper down, at the memory of human enjoyment. But he is a man of iron discipline, and has denied himself the luxury of any qualities which might loosen his concentration upon his purpose.

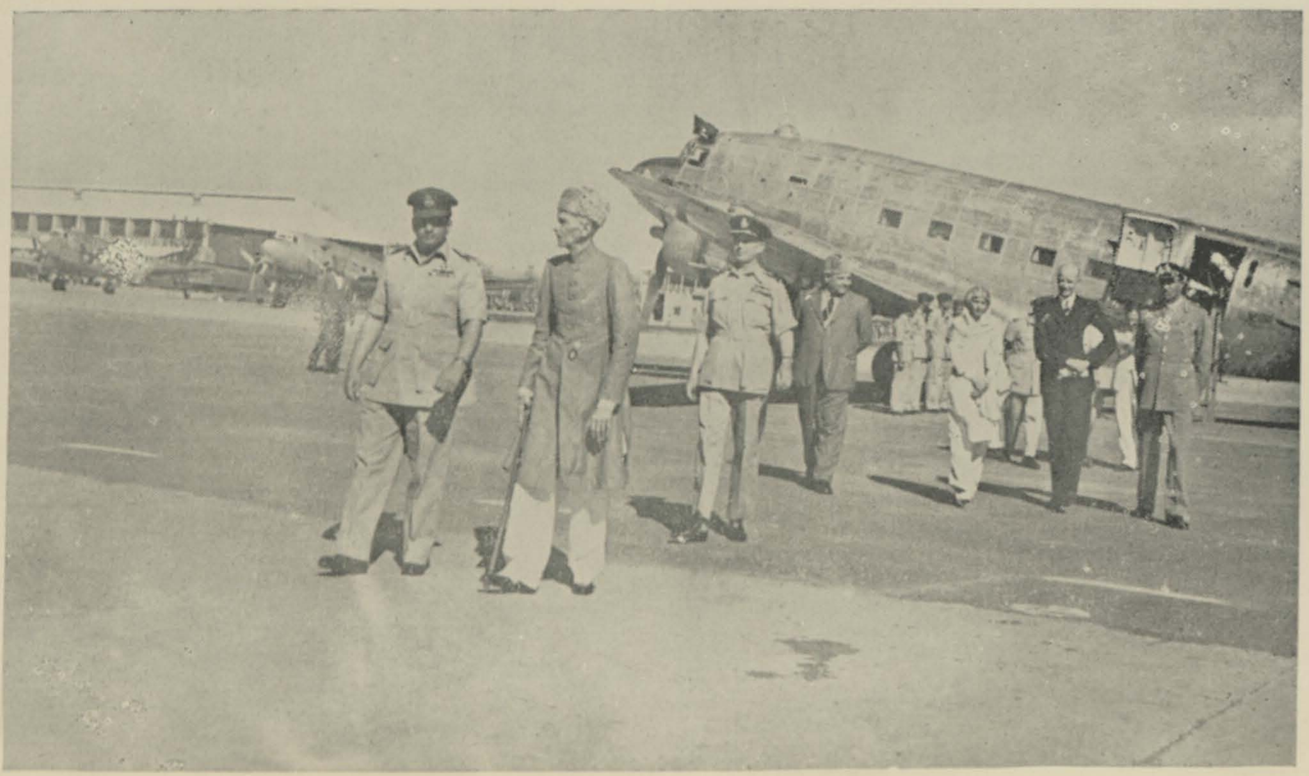
Mr. Jinnah's ability and personality are such that it is not much of an exaggeration to say that he is the Muslim League. . . . If he says the watchword is to be "Pakistan" the watchword is Pakistan. He is a man whose judgment and authority are not questioned lightly by his colleagues. . . . Mr. Jinnah is credited with ruling the Working Committee of the Muslim League with a rod of iron.* He is said to tell them what's what, and they invariably fall into line. At any signs of intransigence on what he considers a major point he is said to threaten resignation, after which the argument dies.

A vast responsibility rests on the shoulders of Mr. Jinnah. He is a man well accustomed to authority and responsibility. . . . He is blunt and direct and no one has any doubt what he means when he speaks. A very great deal depends on his handling of affairs over the next year or so—the biggest case he has had.

*This is an impression based on mere hearsay. It is contradicted by the testimony of all his colleagues who worked closely with him.—*Editor.*

PART THREE

TRIBUTES



The Quaid on landing at Peshawar Airport on 11th April, 1948, Behind him are Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Miss Fatima Jinnah, Sir Ambrose Dundas, and Major-General Nazir Ahmed.

Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani

The father of our nation lived long enough to see the dream come true. Pakistan mourns her founder who exhausted his energies and laid down his life in her service. Though she has lost her inspiration and guidance at a time when she needs it most, Pakistan would not fail to live up to his ideals and fulfil her destiny. The passing of the Quaid-i-Azam means to me a bitter and irreparable loss which time will not erase. It will be my endeavour to follow the example which he set me as one of his privileged associates and disciples throughout my political career.

Sardar Abdul Rab Nishtar

The Quaid-i-Azam is dead. The Father of our Nation, the founder of our dear infant State is no more in our midst. That is an event too tragic for words. One of the greatest contemporaries and the greatest among the Muslims of his age, our nation was most fortunate to have the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as a leader and guide at such a critical period in our history. Though not physically present the Quaid-i-Azam's spirit will constantly inspired us to serve the State more than ever and to complete the task of building up Pakistan. We feel so helpless, almost like orphans, yet in the hour of our greatest loss and deepest grief let me remind the nation that our Quaid-i-Azam never faltered in the darkest hour of our struggle. As his humble followers we should also bear this sudden calamity with fortitude and strive hard for attainment of the goal that he set before us. This is the best way to pay our homage to our departed Leader. Let us not forget the great motto of Unity, Discipline and Faith which the Quaid-i-Azam gave us.

Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan

The death of our Quaid-i-Azam is a staggering blow to our nation. He was undoubtedly the greatest living Muslim and

perhaps the greatest man of his age in that he carved out a state by his honesty, integrity and perseverance. The father of the Pakistan nation has passed away. We had hoped and prayed that he would live for some more years to set this new State on strong and solid foundation. But Allah had willed it otherwise and as true Muslims we must resign unto His Will. Let us one and all try to translate his teachings into action. We are not out of the woods yet. We are hemmed in by dangers on all sides. Let us be worthy of our great leader and of the noble heritage which he has left. Muslims of Pakistan, forget all your differences, close up your ranks and march ahead as disciplined soldiers.

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Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

Pakistan has lost its beloved Quaid-i-Azam and the world a most dynamic personality of the age whose selfless devotion and iron will secured the Muslims of Pakistan an honoured place in the comity of free nations. His departure at a time his guidance was most needed is a hard blow to the people and Government of Pakistan, but the love and respect in which he was held by them will *Insha Allah* give them wisdom and strength to pursue his policies unflinchingly and wholeheartedly. As President of the All-India Muslim League and later on as the Governor-General of Pakistan, the Quaid-i-Azam laid great stress on unity and discipline and we shall pay living homage to his memory by steadfastly adhering to virtues which he most appreciated.

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Allama Shabbir Ahmad Usmani

The Quaid-i-Azam is dead but the nation he brought into existence still lives and hopes to live a life of honour and strength. When the great Prophet Mohammad departed this life and the people were struck dumb with grief, Abu Bakr told the Muslims that Muhammad was but an apostle of God, he was dead but the message he had brought lived. The Muslim nation took inspiration from God and did not depend on human personalities for their glory and true greatness. I repeat for your benefit the advice of the Quaid-i-Azam that in unity and discipline lies the future greatness of the Muslim nation. I am proud to feel that every Pakistani is moved by the spirit that had won the Muslims of yore their great political glory. It is my belief that not only men of the defence services but also the man in the street wants to live as a *Ghazi* or die as a *Shaheed*.

The Quaid-Azam is no more. The loss is irreparable for Pakistan, nay for the whole Muslim world. He was gifted with heart and was a rare example of nature's gift to humanity. His selfless services to Pakistan and the Muslim nation will be remembered by all in all ages. It was the ambition and determination of Quaid-i-Azam to create a solid *bloc* of all the Muslim States from Karachi to Ankara, from Pakistan to Morocco. He wanted to see the Muslims of the world united under the banner of Islam as an effective check against the aggressive designs of their enemies. This is the hour of trial for Muslims. Those who face it with courage and determination will reign supreme. When Pakistan was established a year and some odd days ago, I wondered what the Muslim nation would do with a mere scroll of paper, while an inveterate enemy was bent upon destroying the new State. It was the courage, determination and will of the Quaid-i-Azam that turned that scroll of paper into a solid and prosperous nation well placed on its legs and looking to the future with confidence and zeal.

Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas

A great calamity has betaken the entire Muslim world. Our nation has lost its father; Asia has lost its greatest leader; and the Muslims of Kashmir in particular have lost their saviour. To me it is a personal loss which brings to an abrupt end a long association during which I always found in him a deep affection for the downtrodden people of Kashmir and a great concern for their emancipation.

Nothing will fill the vacuum which his departure from our midst has caused. Nothing will repair the loss which the Nation has sustained. In this moment of bitter sorrow and darkness the only ray of hope is the heritage of unity, discipline and faith which he has left us. We must now dedicate ourselves to the task before us—the task of building Pakistan as the Quaid-i-Azam visualised it. May God grant us courage, fortitude and solidarity to fulfil the ideal for which our beloved Quaid-i-Azam lived and died!

Mr. Fazlur Rahman (Minister in the first Pakistan Cabinet)

To those of us who were privileged to work with the Quaid-i-Azam his life will be a perennial inspiration. I have not yet come across a man who lived a dedicated life in such an unqualified sense of term as the Quaid-i-Azam did. Even the

greatest among the statesmen of the world are known to have felt oppressed by the burden of their public responsibilities and to have sought some means or other of rest and relaxation. But this frail man of seventy-one years on whom destiny had cast one of the heaviest burdens denied himself all respite and, despite failing health, bore it to the very end of his mortal journey.

The vast sufferings which attended the birth of Pakistan might well have daunted the stoutest heart, but sitting at the Council with him we all felt braced by his calm courage, his wonderful sagacity, his indomitable will. Whatever he said came from a conviction rooted in the principles of justice, truth and fairplay. Here he knew no compromise, for any compromise with these principles would have been violation of all that contributes to the worth and dignity of man. Hence his absolute integrity—the wonder of his friends and the despair of his foes.

Each intimate glimpse that I had of him during my close but, alas! tragically short association with him revealed to me a man cast in heroic mould. That frail physical frame is no more but the spirit that animated him lives and will live for ever.

Mr. Abdus Sattar Pirzada (*Minister in the first Pakistan Cabinet*)

We have mourned the loss of our great leader for forty days. His loss was the greatest blow that our infant State of Pakistan could have suffered at this delicate period in the history of the world. By the grace of God Pakistan has come up in this short period of forty months to occupy a place of importance among the nations of the world. We are being looked upon with respect and affection by all the Muslim countries, and even our enemies have been made to realise that Pakistan has come to stay.

Internally although we have many difficulties still to face we have got over several of them and the foundations of our State have been firmly laid. All this is due to the iron will and flawless guidance of our great leader, the Quaid-i-Azam. His firmness was unshakable even during our darkest days and with the clearest vision he piloted Pakistan's ship successfully through the most troubled waters. Would that God had spared him for a longer period for an even firmer establishment of our newly born State.

The Quaid-i-Azam having been born in Sind always took a very keen interest in Sind politics and it makes us feel proud that

this was the first province where he could establish a purely Muslim League Government even long before the partition of the sub-continent of India. It was due to his personal influence that in the first general elections of 1946 the Muslim League was able to secure 28 out of 35 Muslim seats in the said Legislature and formed a purely Muslim League Government with a majority of one vote. Again it was due to his presence in Sind during the second general elections of December 1946 after the dissolution of the Assembly that the Muslim League captured all the 35 Muslim seats and formed a stable League Ministry in January 1947 with the result that we were able to do so much beneficial legislative work in the Budget session of 1947. Except for the brief space that the Quaid-i-Azam had to go away to England he was present in Karachi throughout this period and the then Ministry of Shaikh Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, of which I was also a member, worked directly under his personal guidance. It was during this session that Sind had a separate University of its own, independent of the non-Muslim majority-ridden University of Bombay. He would often call us at the present Sind Governor's House where he was staying in those days or at Malir at the Bahawalpur House where he went during the week-ends and would discuss and advise us on the minutest details of our legislative and other work. He reorganised the Sind Muslim League Assembly Party which was torn due to party factions and made it play its due and proper role in the administration of the province. I can still see him sitting in the distinguished visitors' gallery of the Sind Assembly and listening to our debates. But to our great misfortune our beloved leader is no more with us. Yes, he is gone but his guiding force is still with us and will always be with us. We know exactly what he would want us to do and we shall do that. The aim of his life—to establish Pakistan fully and firmly—shall, by the grace of God, be realised. In the midst of this national calamity we realise even more the necessity of standing together shoulder to shoulder without any distinction of caste and creed, neither as Sindhis nor Punjabis, as nor even as Bengalis, Baluchis or Pathans but as Pakistanis, nationals of a State which has been formed on the blood and tears of Muslims and is a living monument of a life of struggle and sacrifice in the cause of Islam on the part of the Quaid-i-Azam.

President Harry S. Truman of U.S.A.

I was deeply grieved to learn this morning of the unexpected death of the Governor-General of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, originator of the dream that became

Pakistan, architect of the State and father of the world's largest Muslim nation. Mr. Jinnah was the recipient of a devotion and loyalty seldom accorded to any man. It is particularly tragic that within so short a period of time the two great new nations of the Indo-Pak sub-continent should be deprived of the leadership and guidance of their founding geniuses. Both of these great men rose from humble origins to positions of vast and constructive influence through their abilities and their sense of dedication and the world is the poorer for their passing. I am, confident, however, that the memory of Mr. Jinnah's remarkable leadership will serve to maintain and inspire the Government and the people of Pakistan in the years to come.

Mr. George Marshall (Secretary of State, U.S.A.)

The Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was a leader unique among men through the medium of his own faith and unswerving dedication to the cause to which he gave his life. He not only conceived and brought into being one of the greatest nations of the world but stood at its helm during its initial difficult phase and brought it into co-operation with the rest of the world through the instrumentality of the United Nations. Respected by all who knew him, whether political friend or foe, for his deep personal integrity and honesty, Mr. Jinnah was also admired for his keen intellect and personal charm. His education in undivided India and abroad, his wide experience in the legal profession and in Government and politics, his progressive and constructive contributions in all the fields won him a highly esteemed place among the elder statesmen, not only of Asia but of the world. The loss of Mr. Jinnah's guiding genius will be deeply felt not only in his own country but throughout the family of nations. He has left to his followers and to the future statesmen of Pakistan an example of energetic devotion to duty and ideals which, I am confident, will inspire the people of Pakistan to continue to play a constructive role in world affairs.

Mr. Clement R. Attlee (Prime Minister of Britain)

In Mohammad Ali Jinnah Pakistan has lost her most distinguished citizen. For many years he devoted his great abilities to the cause of the Muslim community in India. He came to the conclusion that there must be a separation between India and Pakistan, and having so decided, worked untiringly to bring this policy to fruition. He was outstanding as a leader, and Pakistan will find it hard to replace him. I would like to express my

sympathy with his sister and with the people of Pakistan in their great loss.

Sir Frederick Bourne (*Governor of East Bengal*)

It was written of one of the great Protestant Princes of Europe that as long as he lived he was a guiding star of a brave nation and when he died little children cried in streets. Those are fine words and I cannot hope to improve on them by way of an epitaph.

The Quaid-i-Azam was endowed with great ability which he always employed deliberately to worthy ends. He showed a single-minded devotion to the cause he championed and an uncommon power of converting others to his own way of thinking.

The effects of his personality on minor characters was almost mesmeric. But at the same time he had a gift of inspiring affection and loyalty. His health had been known to be indifferent for the State he had striven to create. It was natural for us to hope that he would be spared for some years to continue building on the foundation he had laid. It was not to be, nor is it for us to question the will of the Almighty. But it is for us to keep his word and spirit alive and to make up for the loss of our leader by devotion to the cause of Pakistan.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi

He had the highest regard for Jinnah's single-mindedness, his great ability and integrity which nothing could buy.

[*Extract from Press statement issued by Mr. Gandhi after the breakdown of Jinnah-Gandhi talks in September* 1944 *reproduced by Peyarelal in his book* Mahatma Gandhi, the Last Phase.]

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (*a prominent South Indian leader and Finance Minister of India.*)

Mr. Jinnah is undoubtedly a great patriot, a great parliamentarian and a dominating personality in India. What has struck me as the most outstanding quality of Mr. Jinnah is his uncompromising independence and sense of self-respect. He is the incorruptible politician *par excellence*. No consideration will ever make him lose his self-respect or give up his independence. The key to Mr. Jinnah's dominating position in India to-day is to be found in his uncompromising spirit of independence. . . . Mr. Jinnah is a realistic patriot. While he yields to

none in his enthusiasm to obtain the political emancipation of his country he is not blind to the realities of the Indian political situation. He is a believer in communal justice. It is on the edifice of communal justice that the political superstructure of India has to be built up. . . .

Political parties and individuals who claim a monopoly of patriotism may sneer at Mr. Jinnah, but he will stand out as a great Nationalist and real patriot.

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Dr. Sir C. R. Reddy (a prominent non-Brahmin leader of South India)

He is the pride of India and not the private possession of the Muslims.

A straight thinker, straight fighter and strong hitter, he is anything but a subtlety shop and in fact suspicious of subtle politicians whose texts read one way and whose oft-repeated commentaries in other and different ways according to exigencies. In dignity, racial and personal, he is an example and standard-bearer. He abhors the oily pose of mock modesty and ultra-humility, and the rebound perhaps takes him to the other extreme, which, in any case, is the lesser and less widespread infirmity of Indians. In his autobiography Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru praises the manly bearing and profound political instinct of the Muslims. If the illustration of this were needed I would say, "Look at Jinnah."

The spiritual drive of the political missionary is his, for he wants nothing for himself and everything for his country on an equitable basis of distribution as between its component elements. True he does not prate of self-sacrifice nauseatingly—but then to the courageous and noble it is all self-realisation and self-fulfilment and no conscious sacrifice.

The great root good he has done to India is saving our politics from being clouded over, confused and confounded by metaphysics and moonshine. By his firm common-sense stand he has saved the country from a fearful relapse into primitivism in its education, life and outlook of which it ran some risk. Truly has he been the saviour of Indian progress and modernism. If in the conflict between the Ascetic-Primitive and Scientific Modern, India has been left with a chance of achieving a fuller and more powerful civilisation in place of a bloodless, if perhaps less blissful, charkha-isation the credit and glory of it go in the main to Jinnah.

Mr. M. C. Rajah (leader of the Scheduled Castes)

All religions hold the belief that God sends suitable men into the world to work out His plan from time to time, and at critical junctures. I regard Mr. Jinnah as the man who has been called upon to correct the wrong ways into which the people of India have been led by the Congress under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. The Congress did a great service to the country so long as it followed the lines of critical co-operation and co-operative criticism towards the British Government, as laid down by Dadabhai Naoroji and Gokhale. But it took a wrong turn when it adopted wholesale the non-co-operation programme of Mr. Gandhi and assumed an attitude of open hostility towards Britain, and tried to infuse in the minds of the people a spirit of defiance of law and civil disobedience, more or less thinly veiled under a formula of truth and non-violence. Moreover, by Mahatmafying Mr. Gandhi it appealed to the idolatrous superstitions of the Hindus, thus converting the religious adherence of the Hindu section of the population to the Mahatma into political support of his non-co-operation programme. While this strategy was some avail in hustling the British Government to yield more and more to the demands of the Congress, it divided the people into Hindu and non-Hindu sections.

In these circumstances a man was needed to stand up to Congress and tell its leaders that their organisation, however powerful numerically and financially, does not represent the whole of India.

I admire Mr. Jinnah and feel grateful to him because, in advocating the cause of the Muslims, he is championing the claims of all classes who stand the danger of being crushed under the steam-roller of a Hindu majority, acting under the inspiration and orders of Mr. Gandhi.

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Sir Frederick James (leader of European-Group in the Indian Legislative Assembly)

He is a leader of men, frearless and incorruptible. He has done great work for his community ; he has united and inspired them. He has made them conscious of their destiny and strength. As a patriot he seeks freedom both for his country and community.

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Sir Homi P. Mody (a leader of the Parsi community)

He is fearless and straightforward, seeks no popularity and is singularly free from political intrigue. He is a lone figure; very few really know him or have penetrated the armour of his aloofness. An arresting personality, one may like or condemn, but cannot ignore him; his contribution to the political life of India has been outstanding.

Sir Cowasji Jehangir (a Parsi leader and member of the Indian Legislative Assembly)

If there is one characteristic more than another which distinguishes him in public life it is his sturdy independence. Nothing will sidetrack him from what be considers is the path of Duty, Truth, Righteousness, and Equity. No amount of opposition, no threats and no danger will daunt him in his determination. He is a man full of courage and tenacity. Few have been in public life for so long in India to-day as he has been, and I venture to suggest that no one can accuse him of ever having been a time-server or an opportunist. He has never put self or his own interests before those of his country. Such men are rarely found in public life. He stands to-day not only as the acknowledged leader of the millions of his community but also as one of the foremost men in the public life of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India (in a message to Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani)

Please accept this personal message on the occasion when you will lead the funeral prayers over the Quaid-i-Azam who has been gathered to God. Though not present in flesh I am with you in our prayer and sharing the grief of your people. May God Almighty help us all and enable the imperishable good in us to triumph over all folly and temptation and lead us forward to peace between Pakistan and India and all the nations.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (Governor of U.P. India)

The Quaid-i-Azam was, indeed, the father of the new State and one of the most distinguished and arresting figures in our contemporary history. May his followers honour his memory by striving unceasingly to create an atmosphere of peace and unity

which alone can give reality and permanence to Mohammad Ali Jinnah's cherished dreams and ideas. May our common bereavement bring the two nations closer together in growing friendship and co-operation for the service of humanity.

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Mrs. Sarojini Naidu (to Miss Fatima Jinnah)

Dearest Fatima, you know how deeply I share your sorrow. Many thousands of mourners have offered their tribute of admiration for their great leader, but I send you, in the poignant silence of my grief, an imperishable flower of memory and affection to lay on the grave of my dear beloved friend.

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Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose (leader of Congress Party in Bengal)

Mr. Jinnah was great as a lawyer, once great as a Congressman, great as a leader of the Muslims, great as a world politician and diplomat and greatest of all as a man of action. By Mr. Jinnah's passing away the world has lost one of its greatest statesmen and Pakistan its law-giver, philosopher and guide.

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Mr. Sri Prakasa (Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan)

A unique and arresting personality has been removed by the passing away of the Quaid-i-Azam at this critical moment of our history. The world is the poorer for the loss. All controversies must be hushed in the face of death. The infant State of Pakistan is orphaned by this calamity.

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Mr. B. G. Kher (Chief Minister of Bombay)

The Quaid-i-Azam's death is a great blow to Pakistan. His tall and erect figure, immaculate dress and elegant bearing made a deep impression and his fearless advocacy and uncompromising nature and independent manners towards those placed in authority made him a popular and successful advocate. He had a unique personality and implacable decisiveness which has made history. He had an indomitable will which brooked no opposition and permitted no second.

[Mr. Kher had personal relations with Mr. Jinnah—*Editor.*]

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The Pakistan Times, *Lahore* : *To God We Return*

The Quaid-i-Azam has passed away. After long years of toil and sacrifice and service in the cause of his people, his frail body has at last been gathered unto rest and his soul called back to the abode of the eternally blessed. No name in the history of Indian Muslims has been loved and acclaimed as the name Muhammad Ali Jinhah. No man in living memory evoked such unquestioned loyalty, such unqualified devotion, such unbounded faith, for to the one-time oppressed, dejected and broken Muslim nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah was much more than a political leader. He was the father and the brother, the friend and counsellor, the guide and confidante, the comrade and leader, all combined into one. Millions hopefully whispered his name in hours of anguish and blessed him silently in moments of joy. For the best portion of his life he carried on his shoulders the burden of all their cares, in his heart the ache of all their sorrows and in his bones the weariness of all their labours. And now he is gone. The nation has been deprived of his love and his wisdom that guided and sustained them, of his leadership that held them so closely together, of his incorruptible rectitude that set the standard for their moral and political conduct. It is difficult in the shadow of this fateful hour to discourse dispassionately on what consequences his bitterly mourned death will engender for Pakistan and the rest of the sub-continent. The horizon has never been so dark and cloudy as it is to-day and the people of India and Pakistan have never faced more anxious days than the days we are now passing through. Not only has the social, cultural and economic renaissance that the dawn of freedom was expected to bring not yet materialised, but new dangers to national freedom and national happiness have arisen that have to be fought and overcome. A million homesteads are still drenched in tears for the loss, during the dark and bloody days of a year ago, of whatever was dear to them on this earth and already the rumblings of fresh trials and new conflicts are audible from a distance. Short-sighted fanaticism and heartless greed are preparing to plunge both the dominions into another suicidal devildance, and the voice of the common man is getting feebler through exhaustion. Both India and Pakistan need, at this time, all the wisdom and humanity they can muster to save themselves from the cataclysm that threatens, and it is a cruel irony of history that at precisely this time both countries have been deprived of the two wisest and most humane men in the sub-continent. Ours is very much the greater and more grievous loss. We can show no greater devotion to the beloved leader and give no greater proof of our

loyalty to his memory than to base our conduct on the pattern that he has immortalised and to conduct ourselves in a manner that accords with his lifelong preachings. From the great grief that envelops the nation to-day must emerge a new courage and a new determination to complete the task that the Quaid-i-Azam began, the task of building a free, progressive and secure Pakistan, to restore to our people the dignity and happiness for which the Quaid-i-Azam strove, to equip them with all the virtues that the nobility of freedom demands and to rid them of fear and suffering and want that have dogged their lives through the ages.

[*Editorial article in* Pakistan Times *of* 12 *September* 1948.]

New York Herald Tribune, *New York*

There is a supreme dramatic fitness that Jinnah should so speedily follow his one-time associate and later antagonist, Gandhi, in death. More than any other individuals these two made India of to-day free but divided, a hopeful and fearful compact of great significance, whether for good or evil, for the modern world. Each by his strength and limitations stamped their impress upon the lives of millions and each refused to be bound by the tradition of most political leaders of this era seeking to embody in mundane institutions the heritage of great religious teachers.

The creation of Pakistan as a State is a unique event in the history of the nations. Men of many races and tongues, some of them rulers, some subjects, peasants, princes, warriors, and merchants bound by their common faith went into the building of the Muslim State. It was originally a State without boundaries, without practicable economic or geographic basis, without political organisation or political tradition that has any pertinence to modern conditions. Yet the elements of the nation were forged by the English-trained son of a Karachi hide merchant within the space of a few decades and Pakistan is a reality to-day. It is not untimely, Jinnah died a happier death than Gandhi's. The Muslim had not asked as much of his fellow-man as the Hindu—no more than staunch adherence to the faith and forms of his father. For Jinnah there may have been sorrow in the spectacle of community warring against community but no contradiction against carnal weapons to defend the things of the spirit. He built his State. He had given his co-religionists a national home to form institutions in keeping with their ideals and traditions. He preserved them from being merged in the mass of India.

Times, *London*

There was nothing in him of the subtle flexibility of intellect which seems to the Englishman the characteristic of the Hindu. All his ideas were diamond-hard, clear-cut, almost tangible. His arguments had none of the sinuosity of Hindu reasoning, they were directed dagger-like to the single point he was attacking. . . .

Few statesmen have shaped events to their policy more surely than Mr. Jinnah. He was a legend even in his lifetime. . . . He had few illusions. He knew that although he had himself largely fixed the hour and circumstance of the birth of Pakistan he was director and not creator of forces that made Pakistan possible. He knew that his work would not last unless he taught his people to be independent of his guidance, and more and more he gave over the responsibilities of government to the band of able men he had collected and trained. He stood in the background to give the people confidence and to step in decisively when the hour required it.

Statesman, *New Delhi*

None could fail to recognise Mr. Jinnah's greatness. Seeming as hard as a diamond he had all the diamond's brilliance.

Hindu, *Madras*

In an age which saw centuries-old empires crumble this Bombay lawyer began late in life to dream of founding a new empire; in an era of rampant secularism this Muslim. . . . began to dally with the notion that that empire should be an Islamic State. And the dream became a reality overnight.

Joachim Alva (*Editor*, The Forum, *Bombay*)

One place will long cherish Jinnah's memory, there it remains imperishable. Courage and sheer impudence have won him fame in the law courts. His hypnotic influence bruits his fame abroad and the rumour of his name spreads in accordance with the thrills, his terrific encounter with the Judges and the bombshell he throws in the courts.

Jinnah has preserved his position at the Bar intact and unsullied. Toadying or the remotest connection that excites

suspicion is foreign to his nature. In short, he is the embodiment of the highest standards of the Bar. The compliment paid him that he is the "Lord Simon of the Indian Bar" does not awkwardly sit on him.

Blitz, *Bombay*

The worst enemies of the Muslim League cannot help envying the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Last week's cataclysmic transformation of the Muslim League* from the reactionary racket of the Muslim Nawabs, Noons and Knights into a revolutionary mass organisation dedicated by word, if not by deed, to an anti-imperialist struggle, compels us to express the sneaking national wish that a diplomat and strategist of Jinnah's proven calibre were at the helm of the Indian National Congress There is no denying the fact that by his latest master-stroke of diplomacy Jinnah has outbid, outwitted and outmanoeuvred the British and Congress alike and confounded the common national indictment that the Muslim League is a parasite of British imperialism.

*This refers to the decision of the All-India Muslim League Council in July 1946 to withdraw acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and resort to direct action to achieve Muslim right to self-determination.—*Editor.*

Appendix I

THE GREAT LAW-GIVER

[The Quaid-i-Azam did not wear his religion on his shirt-sleeve, but he was a true Muslim. His love of Islam and devotion to the Holy Prophet is evident from the speech delivered by him on the occasion of Milad-un-Nabi at Karachi on 25 January 1948 which is reproduced below].

"Why this feeling of nervousness that the future constitution of Pakistan is going to be in conflict with Shariat Laws ?" asked the Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah addressing a Prophet's Day Meeting of the Sind Bar Association on Sunday, January 25, 1948. He could not understand the section of people who kept on impressing upon everybody that the future constitution of Pakistan should be based on the Shariat. "There are people who deliberately want to create mischief and make the propaganda that we will scrap it (Shariat law.)"

"Islamic principles have no parallel. To-day they are as applicable as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism has taught us democracy. It has taught us equality of man, justice and fairplay to every-body. There was nothing to fear not only for the Muslims but also for the non-Muslims. What reason could there be for anyone to fear democracy, equality of man, freedom and the highest standard of integrity, justice and fairplay to everybody."

The Quaid-i-Azam asked the Muslims to banish sectarianism from their ranks. "I want the Muslims to get rid of the disease of provincialism. It was a curse of the Muslim of the subcontinent that they thought in terms of Sindhi, Punjabi, Pathan

and Delhi Muslims. What was still worse was that some of the Muslims who had embraced Islam still retained the legacy of the caste system in their social fabric." By saying this he did not wish to hurt the sentiments of the non-Muslim brethren, but only to point out the existence of un-Islamic ways among the Muslims. It was really undesirable that there should be community distinction among Muslims like Khoja, Bohra, Memon. A nation can never progress unless it marches in one formation. We are all Muslims and all Pakistanis and as citizens of the State it is our duty to make it a glorious, sovereign State in the world."

He recalled how as a student he went round seeing all the four inns in England before making his choice. When he entered the fourth Inn he saw a large fresco. He asked the man who was conducting him about the fresco. The man replied: "It is a fresco of all the law-givers of the world." "Who is the man on the top?" asked the Quaid-i-Azam. "Mohammad the great law-giver," came the reply. That decided his choice of the Inn.

"Prophet Mohammad was a great teacher, he was a great statesman and he was a great sovereign who ruled.

"No doubt there are many people who do not quite appreciate when we talk of Islam. Some of our non-Muslim friends do not quite apprcciate when we talk of Islam. Islam is not only a set of rituals, traditions and spiritual doctrines. Islam is a code of every Muslim which regulates his life and his conduct in all aspects, social, political, economic, etc. It is based on the highest principles of honour, integrity, fairplay and justice for all.

"One God and the equality of one-hood is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. In this religion there was no difference between man and man. Equality, liberty and fraternity are its main principles. Prophet Mohammad is one of the few great men that the world have ever seen. Thirteen hundred years ago he laid the foundation of democracy."

[*Dawn*, 26 January 1948]

Appendix II

ANECDOTES

[There are innumerable anecdotes about the Quaid-i-Azam which bring out his great qualities of character. A few within the knowledge of the Editor or gleaned from different sources are given below.]

Mr. Jinnah was first elected to the Imperial Legislative Council under the Minto-Morley Reforms in 1909. In one of his earliest speeches in the course of the debate on the Resolution on Indentured Labour for Natal on 25th February 1910 Mr. Jinnah had his first encounter with the Viceroy Lord Minto who was President of the Council. He showed unexampled courage of conviction and expression as is evident from the following extract from the proceedings :—

The Hon. Mr. Jinnah: My Lord, I beg to support the Resolution. . . . If I may say at the outset, it is a most painful question—a question which has roused the feeling of all classes in this country to the highest pitch of indignation and horror at the harsh and cruel treatment that is meted out to Indians in South Africa.

The President (Lord Minto) : I must call the Hon'ble gentleman to order. I think that is rather too strong a word 'cruelty'. The Hon'ble member must remember that he is talking of a friendly part of the Empire and he must really adapt his language to the circumstances.

The Hon'ble Mr. Jinnah : Well, my Lord, I should feel inclined to use much stronger language, but I am fully aware of

the constitution of this Council, and I do not wish to trespass for one single moment, but I do say that the treatment that is meted out to Indians is the harshest which can possibly be imagined, and, as I said before, the feeling in this country is unanimous.

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A High Court Judge to Mr. Jinnah : Mr. Jinnah, you are not addressing a Third Class Magistrate.

Mr. Jinnah: Your Lordship, you are not addressing a third-class lawyer either.

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A client came to Mr. Jinnah one day and asked his advice. The file was a voluminous one and Mr. Jinnah's fees enormous. The client said he had only ten thousand rupees and Mr. Jinnah refused. Eventually the client suggested that Mr. Jinnah should stop looking at the file the moment the amount of ten thousand was exhausted (it was an arrangement of so much per hour) and give his opinion on what he had read so far. When the accounts were made up the fees came to three thousand five hundred, and the balance was handed over by Mr. Jinnah to the client.) This story related by Diwan Chaman Lal, an old friend of the Quaid-i-Azam, in an article quoted in M. H. Saiyed's 'Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a political study').

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Upon the outbreak of war in September 1939 there was a demand by political parties for declaration of Government's policy regarding constitutional changes, interim and long-term. The Viceroy invited political leaders for consultations. Before going to the Viceregal Lodge Mr. Gandhi called at the Quaid-i-Azam's residence for a talk. After some time, as Mr. Gandhi was leaving, the Quaid-i-Azam came out to see him off. Mr. Gandhi asked the Quaid-i-Azam to go with him in his car to the Viceregal Lodge. The latter said, "Thank you. You go ahead in your car. I will follow in mine". The Quaid did so, because he did not want to create the wrong impression that he and Mr. Gandhi were approaching the Viceroy with a common demand. (The demand of the Congress for immediate declaration of independence and a constituent Assembly on the basis of India

being treated as one unit without any prior settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question was prejudicial to the position and interests of the Muslims—Editor).

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Khwaja Nazimuddin, a trusted colleague of the Quaid-i-Azam, told the Editor, that he had been invited to preside over the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference in November 1942. The Quaid-i-Azam and the Punjab Premier Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan also were attending the Conference. Sir Sikandar Hayat had made some kind of statement which sounded prejudicial the demand for Pakistan. The Quaid-i-Azam resented it and told the organizers of the Conference that he would not speak if Sir Sikandar spoke at the open session. They were horrified and approached Khwaja Nazimuddin. He immediately rushed to the place where the Quaid-i-Azam was staying and told him that it would create a very awkward situation and cause great disappointment if he refused to speak, that the programme of the Conference had already been drawn up and the names of both the Quaid-i-Azam and Sir Sikandar had been included in the list of speakers. Khwaja Sahib added, "After all, I am the President of the Conference and it is for me to call upon the speakers". The Quaid-i-Azam, being a great believer in discipline and constitutional propriety, immediately replied that he saw Khwaja Nazimuddin's point and would comply with his wish to speak. Khwaja Sahib returned a happy man. He said the incident showed the Quaid-i-Azam's nobility and great-heartedness, Sir Sikandar Hayat clarified his position and removed the doubts created by his previous statement.

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An aspect of the Quaid-i-Azam's integrity of character was the firmness with which he kept his word. He did not readily make a promise or give a pledge, but once he had done so he stood by it to the last. In 1943 Mr. C. Rajagopalachari placed before the Quaid-i-Azam a formula which apparently was designed to meet the demand for creation of Pakistan on certain conditions but was, in reality, a travesty and parody of the plan for formation of an independent, sovereign state comprising

Muslim-majority regions. Mr. Rajagopalachari asked the Quaid-i-Azam to keep the formula a secret. For full one year the Quaid-i-Azam did not give a hint of it to his closest colleagues. The formula became known to the public a year later when Mr. Rajagopalachari himself chose to release it. (The Editor learnt these facts from the late Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan).

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A distinctive trait of the Quaid-i-Azam's character for which he was justly found was his utter honesty and incorruptibility. In this connection an instance was cited by his old-time colleague in the Central Legislative Assembly, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, in a speech at Aligarh. An Insurance Bill was under discussion in the Assembly. An insurance magnate approached Dr. Ziauddin with the offer that if the latter moved an amendment to the Bill the former would donate one lac rupees to the funds of the Muslim University. Dr. Ziauddin, who was also Vice-Chancellor of the University, said he would reply after consulting the Quaid-i-Azam. When he discussed the proposal with the Quaid-i-Azam the latter said he would never advise Dr. Ziauddin to compromise the University's honour by accepting the donation as a price for sponsoring an amendment in the interest of insurance magnates. Dr. Ziauddin declined the offer and refused to move the amendment.

Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad narrated another story in a speech on the occasion of celebration of Quaid-i-Azam's birthday at Aligarh. The Viceroy Lord Linlithgow once asked Dr. Ziauddin as to why Mr. Jinnah was so popular with the Muslims. Dr. Ziauddin replied: "I do not know, but I can tell you why he is popular to me. When the British, forgetting all their pledges, had thrown the Muslims at the mercy of the Congress, it was Mr. Jinnah alone who had the courage to stand up and fight for the rights and interests of the Muslims."

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Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani, a close and trusted associate of the Quaid-i-Azam, met him for the last time in July 1948 when he lay seriously ill at Ziarat. Mr. Ispahani related to the Editor part of the conversation between him and the Quaid-i-Azam as follows :

"When I pressed him not to worry about files and routine Government matters and to take complete rest he would not listen. I pleaded that his life to our newly born sovereign state meant more than all else and that his leaving us at a critical stage of our existence would be a great tragedy. He smiled and said : 'My boy, there was a time soon after partition and until early 1948 when even I worried whether Pakistan would survive the many unexpected and terrible shocks which India had administered soon after we parted company with her. But we pulled through and nothing will ever worry us so much again. I have no fear now. Men may come and men may go but Pakistan is truly and firmly established and will go on, with Allah's grace, forever'."